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The World We Want To Live In

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A DISCUSSION EDITED BY
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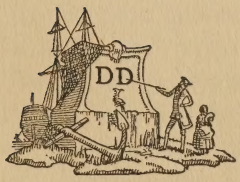

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FIRST EDITION

Acknowledgment

It is fitting that the Oscar S. Straus Memorial Association should defray the expenses of publishing the story of the Institute of Human Relations that met at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., in August 1941. This is true because the Association seeks to foster and promote the ideas of public service, civic virtue, social betterment and human welfare which the life of Mr. Straus exemplified.

Another and even more compelling reason why the Association should provide these publication funds is Mr. Straus's record as a leader and writer in the field of religious tolerance. The spirit and purpose of the Institute are in complete harmony with Mr. Straus's expressions, writings, actions and ideals regarding the vital subject of religious freedom. His friends in the Association believe that this is a most appropriate way to give life to his words and his ideals.

Archibald B. Roosevelt

President Oscar S. Straus Memorial Association

Preface

THE STORY OF THIS BOOK starts with conversations of the undersigned with a scientist, Arthur H. Compton; a historian, Carlton J. H. Hayes; and a businessman, Roger W. Straus. We talked about the postwar world and the common objectives on which American citizens might work together. We talked about the social principles of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Synagogue Council of America, and the interpretations of Vatican positions by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. If the different world is to be a better world after the war, these religious ideals for society must be thought about.

These three men, cochairmen of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, agreed that the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations might very well center on this theme. One day, when the Executive Committee was working over an outline and Henry Noble MacCracken was framing the topics, James N. Rosenberg

exclaimed, "For the title, 'The World We Want To Live In!'"

For a week in August 1941 distinguished leaders in religion, education, politics, business, labor, agriculture, and civil affairs met on the Williams College campus in Massachusetts. It is from the wealth of these discussions that the material for this book is selected.

We have used main ideas which emerged in the talks and exchanges at Williamstown under the various chapter subjects. Without using quotation marks we have given credit in each instance in a footnote. The ideas expressed are to be credited to the speakers quoted and not to the National Conference.

We record the very hearty thanks of the National Conference to the following who participated in the Williamstown Institute: James P. Baxter, 3rd, president of Williams College; Ruth Benedict, Columbia University; A. A. Berle, Jr., Department of State; Loren Black, American Farm Bureau; Margaret J. Brown, International Student Service; William G. Carr, U.S. Educational Policies Commission; Arthur H. Compton, University of Chicago; Howard Coonley, National Association of Manufacturers; Eileen Cummings, Newman Club Federation; Dorothy Day, editor of *The Catholic Worker;* Thomas E. Dewey, District Attorney of New York; Franklin Dunham, Catholic Community Service; Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman, Temple Sinai, New Orleans; Edward A. Fitzpatrick, president of Mount Mary College; Carlos Garcia-Mata, Argentina; Mildred McAfee, president of Wellesley College; Roger F. Gordon, National Urban League; Harold F. Guinzburg, president of Viking Press; Alice

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Grateful appreciation is also expressed to leaders of church, education, and state in England, with whom the writer spoke about *The World We Want To Live In*

during a brief journey to that country immediately following the Williamstown meetings.

To Robert A. Ashworth goes thanks for an arduous editorial labor in combing a thousand pages of notes, reports, and manuscripts that we might tell this story in a hundred pages.

And, finally, thanks to the Oscar Straus Memorial Foundation for its grant which enables the National Conference to publish the first edition of this book.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY

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The World We Want To Live In

I

Social Change

AMERICANS need objectives. The maintenance of a world that is passed will not suffice. The freezing in their present form of nationality, class, race, and individual privileges is not possible. Adequate aims will emerge when people think about more wholesome intercultural relationships, more efficient economic arrangements, and an earthwide political organization. That is the nature of social change with which this book is concerned.

The plain people of the whole world are longing for ideas big enough to meet postwar problems, splendid enough to justify all the suffering, practical enough to compete with the hideous goals of secular nationalism; its hate campaigns, slave economics, and political tyranny. What fresh and valid ideas have Americans to offer? Now is our time. Fascism is discredited. Totalitarian Nationalism has been carried to such extremes it has become absurd. Old-fashioned Marxian Communism is dead. If clearheaded citizens on every farm, around every village cracker-barrel, and in every church, school, and civic organization, will think about, read about, inquire about,

and discuss the kind of a world they want to live in, Americans can discover their mission to the world. Then, if religious convictions are released with regard to *what ought to be done,* out of these dreadful times America may lead mankind in bringing about the most significant social changes in the long ordeal of civilization.

We can envisage in imagination the sort of world in which we would like to live. In our best moments we are stirred by the ambition to create it. Further, in proportion as we have a clear idea of the world we want to live in we can progress in the direction of it. To be sure, we do not yet live up to what we already know. World War II is a symptom of an intolerable lag between man's management of his everyday relations with other people, and available scientific knowledge. If economic and political negotiators would only be as scientific in their approach to a broken-down world as is a garage mechanic in analyzing and repairing a stalled automobile! In the rebuilding of the postwar world, statesmen and political leaders must be required to apply the knowledge about people and their behavior which biologists, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists and historians have accumulated. Americans most certainly do not want to perpetuate conditions which led to World Wars I and II. We have unprecedented scientific knowledge to apply to unprecedented situations to bring about unprecedented results in human society.

A major objective of those who are interested in helping to create a world in which we should be glad to live is that of reconditioning minds with respect to the way human beings behave toward other people when organized in national, racial and religious cultures, on the basis of the knowledge now available about human capacities and instincts. The civilizing of relations across religious,

national, racial and economic lines is the greatest potential social change of the twentieth century.

Take, for example, the relations right here in the United States which adherents of the three major religions, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, bear to one another. That there has been progress, there can be little doubt. Serious hostility sporadically breaks out, professional haters who foster suspicions spread propaganda, but in the United States the curve of racial and religious prejudice is falling. There is nothing current today comparable to the bitterness engendered in the past by the movements that have followed one another from the Nativists and the Know-Nothing hysteria to the Ku Klux Klan.

This is the more remarkable in view of the propaganda, often directed and subsidized from abroad, which has sought in recent times to divide and soften our people. There are assuring evidences that the major currents in American life are in the direction of appreciation and understanding. In our times, when the voice of prejudice is raised, the voices of good will rebuke it. Nor is this change merely negative.

A new disposition for cooperation in all those social undertakings which are of common concern to them is emerging among all the groups that compose our citizenship. As national, ethnic, and religious cultures slough off their tribalisms, they find it easier, and are more disposed, to work together. The institution of town and city conferences or round-tables of American Protestants, Catholics and Jews is an illustration.

Hindrances to Cooperation

There are, as might be expected, small numbers in every culture that resist this social change. Averse to asso-

ciation with citizens outside their own circles, some remain aloof and separate, permitting as few contacts as possible with those of other groups. Even in the realm of social action, where their ideals are similar to those of other groups, they prefer to work alone. They are unwilling or unable to cooperate with those of another religious culture even on civic tasks. One way to account for such individuals is that there are those in every society who are themselves infected by the very racial and religious intolerance which is the cause of intergroup conflict. They may be themselves the victims of attitudes of hatred or hostility which erect insuperable obstacles to any helpful association. They may be emotionally maladjusted, organically or mentally ill by the hate in their hearts.

More and more we are recognizing that racial or religious animosity is an abnormality, and that to give room to it is unhealthy. Hate harms the person toward whom it is directed but it hurts more him who harbors it. Anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Protestant fanaticism will be feared as we fear the bubonic plague when men become aware of the effect of hate upon the hater. The time may come when their friends will say to the rabidly intolerant: "You are ill; you need mental and emotional hospital treatment." Hate-makers are as dangerous as typhoid-carriers.

It may be that he who is rabidly intolerant is a psychiatric case.[1] He is the victim, perhaps, of a mental disorder that may lead ultimately to insanity. Or the indulgence of his hates may result in physical impairment or aggravate weaknesses or diseases to which he is already subject.

[1]Dr. David M. Levy.

Hatred Breeds Disease

Hate of an extreme type predisposes its victim especially to diseases of the heart, to hypertension, for example, or high blood pressure that has no apparent physical cause. Hatred and hostility contribute also to diseases of the circulatory and nervous systems. In tuberculosis there are a number of harmful psychological factors that may spring from hate. For instance, the patient whose attitude toward his disease is very resentful and who keeps himself in a state of constant physical tension may be greatly helped physically if the psychological attitude of resentment and hostility can first be cured.

There are, of course, degrees of hostility and hatred that are not particularly serious. The word "hostility" is used to comprise all those "attacking" attitudes that range from mild sarcasm, derogatory remarks, and barbed wit, to outspoken hate. One could depict a long series of the expressions of hostile attitudes, measured along a scale of values. Since hostility is a normal expression of human personality, one could also differentiate people according to the amount of hostility they display. We do use the expression: "This person is full of hate." On the other hand, we recognize that such feelings may be limited to certain social relationships, even to one relationship. Those who hate much more than normal, however, are psychologically hostile people. Upon them, the effects of hate are serious in proportion to the intensity of their emotions.

Hate and the Hater

Among those who exhibit hatred there are two classes. The first includes people whose hostility is largely re-

pressed and revealed indirectly. The second includes that group whose hostility goes into action, into direct expression.

For both groups the general effects on the personality are not difficult to ascertain. There is an interesting term derived from a certain test of personality, "coarctation." It means constriction, asphyxiation. That is the safest generalization to make about people for whom hate is so vital a function. There is a coarctation of the life of feeling and of imagination. Many avenues of receptivity to life have been closed. They are less aware of what is going on. They hear less, they see less, their experience becomes stereotyped along the pattern of their hostility.

The constriction of the apperceptive faculties goes hand in hand with stereotyped reaction. Though they have less capacity to experience life there is not necessarily a curtailment in their activity. In conversation they may say as much or more than the average. But what they say is more stereotyped. It is as though they are saying the same thing over and over again. There are, of course, great differences in regard to the intelligence of the psychologically hostile. But in this connection it would seem that the difference in intelligence is shown merely in the elaboration of the stereotyped response and the heaping up of details.

The intellectual functions are specialized in building up accusations, constantly proving the presence of the enemy, and in justifying the hostility. So far, we may say that the hostile type is constricted, stereotyped, watchful, and develops a special dialectic of hate.

Of the psychodynamisms of hate, as far as the effect on the individual goes, most important is the anxiety engendered by the hostile impulses. It is this anxiety that is the troublemaker for the personality. It may be a uni-

versal rule that the destructive ideas or acts that are motivated in the hostile personality carry the fear of reprisals, and the feeling of guilt, which latter amounts to the fear of punishment for the sin of hating.

Fantasies of Hatred

The anxiety necessitates repeated justification that the thing hated ought to be hated. Constant proof must be furnished. It is along this line that the abnormality, the pathology, of hate is seen. Two processes go in the abnormal direction. One has to do with building up the evil aspects of the object of hate into fantastic proportions. It is a process of magnification. It can amount to a total distortion. The second has to do with the minutiae of hate. That is, in every little detail proof of hostility may be found. To a certain degree this may be noticed in normal human relationships. Your friend, for example, may hate Miss Jones. In a conversation with you and your friend, Miss Jones happens to talk about an incident in college. This incident may have seemed to you a perfectly natural part of the conversation, but to your friend who is hostile to Miss Jones it meant that the incident about a college was dragged into the conversation in order to humiliate your friend who didn't go to college. But imagine that this type of interpretation runs amok, and you will have a notion of what the psychiatrist refers to as a paranoid coloring. When hostility becomes pathological we see, then, a distortion, a magnification, and a misinterpretation of any detail in the awareness of the individual.

This is to say that as intolerance becomes increasingly dominant in the personality, it becomes necessarily paranoid. In full bloom it becomes delusional, completely distorting the intellectual function. It becomes insane. There

is a long road between so-called ordinary intolerance and what may be called Hitler madness. Nevertheless, in any highly intolerant person there may be observed, most likely, the paranoid coloring in the personality.

HATREDS BEYOND CONTROL

As has been noted, there is a difference between repressed and active or overt hostility. But what has been said applies to those who are the subjects of either of these forms of liability. For the actively hostile, however, it is important to indicate a peculiar mechanism. One might think that the active expression of hostility would have a beneficent effect, at least a quieting effect. We see in children, for example, the development of hostile feelings that are resolved in a fight. In the fight both have relieved their aggression and they may become friendly afterward. Certain friendships have developed in just that way. It is a kind of restoring function, after the battle.

This restoring, making good, seems to be a definite reparative principle in human relationships. If we have been mean or nasty, irritable and the like, we feel bound of necessity to apologize, to overcome, to correct the bad behavior, and to make amends. We want to be restored, the way a child wants to be restored when a mother gives it even a disapproving look. The restoring behavior can be observed in infancy. It is part and parcel of normal human psychology. When, however, the personality is strongly animated by hostility and the attack has been made, restoring behavior as a device cannot be successfully utilized, because the hostility is constantly seething. Actually, what happens is that the anxiety fomented by discharging the hostile impulse into the physi-

cal attack or the violent language stimulates further activity, so that the individual is, in a sense, in a compulsive attacking state. The period of elation that takes place after the attack is quickly dissipated. That is the case, it would appear, of the most dangerous of the pathologically hostile. They are completely enslaved by their own destructive behavior. They must go on and on. In the social group they represent a greater menace than the easily identifiable insane.

In addition to the hostile who are animated by their own hostility, there are numerous variants of pathologically hostile types. There are those cases of Quislingism, where fears or hostilities are qualified by a surrender to the hostile forces, who play the game by joining up with the bully. There are also those who suffer the effects of such ideologies as Hitler's that give sanction to destructive, even sadistic behavior. There should also be included in the picture those people whose hostilities are largely an index of their suggestibility, of the ease with which they yield to those who preach hate. In such cases, however, the acceptance of such leadership represents a facilitation of the expression of their own hostile impulses.

Fear of Corrupting Influences

The prevalence of such attitudes of hostility and hatred, of one degree of severity or another, explains why some in every group cannot be counted upon to join in any cooperative movement. Further hindrances hold others back. Some fear that by contact with out-group cultures their own will be corrupted. They think that the truths that they cherish would be more firmly established if they were never exposed to the chance of contact with what they think to be error. They think that a homo-

geneous society in which all are much alike is stronger than one that includes competition in ideas and rivalry in good works. Their instinct, therefore, is to retire within the confines of their own religious culture and to remain there.

But the weight of evidence seems to demonstrate that cultures are not weakened by contact with those that are different. That society is the most vigorous and strong which is composed of many diverse groups. It is commonly agreed that the fact that the population of the United States is composed of many cultural bodies differing widely from one another is a national asset and not a liability, a source of strength and not of weakness.

Something is to be said, however, on both sides of this thesis. It is sometimes argued that since the American way is the best way of life, it would be better for the country if all should apply it similarly and act alike instead of each group going its separate way. This overlooks the fact that the American way is not a single narrow road but that it is itself a composite, a combination of paths leading in the same direction to whose making practically every group in the country has contributed.[2]

This is particularly true of American culture within very recent times, when so many cultural streams have entered into the American way of life transforming it into a different way of life from that which is found elsewhere. It is as a result of cultural diversity and not as a result of the keeping of any single type of culture separated from the others, that the American way of life, with all its ramifications, is just what it happens to be today.

[2]Otto Klineberg.

DIVERSITY AND CONFLICT

Again, it is affirmed that diversity leads to conflict and is therefore to be deplored. To use a phrase once popular there is a prevalent "dislike of the unlike" which ought to be recognized if not respected. In view of this it might be well to allow the immigration of those like ourselves and to forbid the immigration of those who are unlike. To this argument, which must be taken seriously, two replies may be made.

The first is that so-called dislike of the unlike is by no means inevitable. It is not found in all people; it is not found in all countries; it is not found to any large degree in children, except when they have become old enough to take over the folkways of their parents and teachers who impose their views upon the children.

No line of demarcation is set up between children unless adults interfere. Parents may order youngsters not to associate on such terms of friendliness. Or, a child may imitate the unconscious giveaway of adult taboos.

A second objection, which must also be taken seriously, suggests that cultural diversity may lead to maladjustment, particularly to crime and delinquency on the one hand and mental abnormality on the other. This is true, it is said, of the second generation of immigrants or those born in this country of immigrant parents in which there are two diametrically opposing cultures impinging upon them at all times. That may lead to difficulty.

CULTURAL CONFLICT AND CRIME

However, two factors must be kept in mind: first, those groups that show the greatest amount of crime or de-

linquency are not only the groups that differ from the rest of us culturally, but also the groups that are in the lowest socio-economic position in the country, and that that consideration may play a very important part in the determination of the amount of delinquency or of crime. For that reason, many sociologists are not nearly so certain now as they were of the importance of cultural conflict in determining crime and delinquency.

In the second place, it is not so much the conflict in cultures that results in crime as it is the attitude of hostility against the culture of the immigrant group that creates problems in those groups, and those problems in turn are what result in the disturbance.

It must be frankly recognized, however, that there are weaknesses as well as strengths inherent in America's cultural diversity. The European settlers virtually exterminated the red man,[3] and enslaved the black man. Some "old Americans" of the colonial period opposed the immigration of Europeans of cultures different from their own. In the Connecticut River valley of Massachusetts, first the Indians opposed the English, then the English opposed the German settlers, then the English and the Germans frowned on the invading Irish in the 1830s, and then the Irish joined the English and the German residents to try to keep out the Poles in the early 1900s.

In the nineteenth century, all across the United States, Protestants recalled Catholic persecution of Protestants in Europe, and fought American Catholics. At about the same time, some white people, Catholic, Jew and Protestant alike, argued that Divine Providence had intended an all-white America, otherwise the principles of the Declaration of Independence could not operate. There

[3]Rayford W. Logan.

could be equality only among "equals," a kind of "de luxe democracy."

PURE VERSUS MIXED RACES

A third way to account for those Americans who are inhibited from cooperation with groups other than their own has to do with misinformation about culture and race. What are the facts?

The reliable scientists agree that there are no innate racial differences and no superior race. There are no scientific reasons why those of unlike racial strains should not live harmoniously and cooperatively together. The cooperation of races and of religious cultures within the nation is a source of strength to the nation and not of weakness. These facts should be recognized and accepted.

The idea of the pure "master" race, which Hitler has made the basis of his claim for superiority, is pure whitewash.[4] Germans are not a pure race. That is no slur upon the Germans. Every nation that has accomplished anything since the beginning of the world has been a mixed race. If there are any "pure" races, they are in little pockets somewhere off in the Arctic or lost somewhere in the Tropics. Races which have kept by themselves have never been the standard-bearers of civilization. All of the races which have built civilization have been mixed. America is only a mammoth demonstration of experiments that have been going on since the beginning of the world.

The United States has a motto, "out of many, one," *e pluribus unum*. That motto is sound scientifically. America's strength is founded upon diversity. Take the argument from the comparative study of living cultures, the

[4]Ruth Benedict.

way they set up their life, the way they carry on their relations between classes, between the generations, within the family, between ruler and ruled. Again, take the examples all over the world of the experience that diversities of cultures do not make nations weak. A nation that recruits its members from peoples of different habits of life does not therefore weaken its own progress. On the contrary, contact of cultures always has been, in the history of the human race, the greatest cause for progress. A nation which draws upon multiplied sources is varied, rich, interesting, colorful, and progressive.

Admittedly, this bright picture of the contrasts of culture is possible only when men fulfill the conditions. Human society can so engineer the contact of cultures that both peoples have no further progress. They can so engineer the contacts of people that instead of drawing upon the resources of both peoples and mutually enriching them, society can be so set up by one dominant group that it keeps the others down and must increasingly over the generations devote its whole attention to keeping them down by naked force, while the underprivileged groups expend their energies upon trying to get their places in the sun. When this condition obtains, there are no energies left over for progress.

Overt racial and chronic cultural tensions are weak points in our American armor. Social changes which will bring about good manners in intercultural relations should be on the "must" list of educational duties for the family, the school, and the church. Teach that when a country is kept a land of opportunity for members of every race and culture, men and women of each background can contribute and enrich a common civilization with their own aptitudes. Insofar as opportunity is blocked, tensions grow on both sides, that which is discriminated against

and that which discriminates. Then human relations are poisoned, strength and morale are weakened, and the arts of life deteriorate. The lesson is plain. Let America keep its promises of equality of opportunities. We will extend them. We will back the civil liberties of all people. Each citizen will live at his best, and help each citizen of every other culture to live at his best.

SUMMARY

Major social changes are in operation in our times. Americans can influence vastly the nature of the postwar world. The chapters of this book lift some questions concerning economic, political, educational and religious aspects of social changes. One over-all change is that of new relationships developing among religious, racial, and nationality cultures. Three factors which retard progress in democratic interculture community processes are (1) those who are infected, unconsciously in most cases, with the mental, emotional, or physical sickness of hate; (2) socially inherited fears that association means weakening and corruption of one's culture; (3) race and culture myths which hold over from prescientific folkways.

Adjustment to cultural diversity, and extension of civic cooperation with people in groups other than one's own has been a long hard road for Americans to travel. But it is a rising trail. Moreover, the great majority of the citizens of this country intend to follow this course. Ever higher degrees of justice can be achieved, ever a more perfect union can be developed. The secret of this faith, like the secret of America's strength, lies in the freedom to think together, to teach, to organize, and to struggle for social change.

To bring about the social changes for the world we

want to live in, let America deepen and extend its promises: *one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.* Will America ever rest until there is *one world indivisible, with liberty and justice for all?* That suggests the fundamental social change for which our age should work.

II

Economics

WE HAVE WEIGHED in the previous chapter factors that hinder the full cooperation of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in building a better social order. But, assuming that the main current among all cultures in the United States is a disposition to work together as Americans, without sacrifice of individual differences and with no compromise of conscientious convictions, the question arises, With what economic arrangements do we want to live?

It is possible to think in fresh terms. We Americans have a given amount of natural resources. We have modern technologies. We have machines. We have all the necessary labor, for no one wants or expects to be unemployed, unless mentally or physically ill. The problem is, then, How can we fit together our American work-hours, plus natural resources, plus scientific methods, plus machines, most efficiently and most justly, to meet the needs of every American family? No one knows the answer. Scientific researches, private individuals, producers, consumers' cooperatives and the government will continue to experiment. It is a good sign today that

people are freeing themselves from the labels of economic parties and political doctrines, and are willing to get together and think in good will on these perplexing questions. No utopia is expected. A realistic conviction prevails that if we discover what ought to be done, step by step, *it can be done.*

There are certain assumptions with respect to the economic order of the future that are so widely accepted[1] that they may be taken for granted. The right of employees to bargain collectively with employers through representatives of their own free choice has been established; the responsibilities of management to all factors in industry, to stockholders, labor and the public, are not open to question; the responsibility of labor leaders for the continuance and welfare of the industries in which they have a part, and to the public which these industries serve, as well as to the rank and file of labor, has increased as the organization of labor has advanced.

We may assume, also, that in the production, distribution and exchange of goods and services we wish to encourage individual initiative, competition in ideas and in work. Few among us want a totalitarian state socialism, in which a central government authority determines what shall be produced, by whom and how, and dictates likewise the processes and terms of distribution and exchange. Under that system we should all be government employees. There will no doubt continue to be, however, an extensive area of government services for the public will undertake, through some government agency, services which it decides may thus be more satisfactorily performed than by private enterprise. Certainly, also, such public regulation of private enterprise will be provided as is deemed necessary for the common welfare where

[1]Howard Coonley.

free competition and voluntary cooperation fail to meet the need. Yet it seems fair to assume that we do not favor radical reduction of the area in which private capital, management, and labor may operate, or government regulation that stifles personal initiative and profit-or-loss adventure.

A DYNAMIC ECONOMY

On the basis of these assumptions we may ask, To what sort of economic life does enlightened business look forward after the war?

It cannot look forward to a static economy. Sooner or later a large part of the productive energies now engaged in the defense program and the other activities related to this program will no longer be needed for that purpose. This national effort has already raised our volume of business activity, our total employment, and our national income to new high levels. If the effort is relaxed without transfer of this activity to normal pursuits, our economy will suffer a serious decline, perhaps a catastrophe, with far-reaching consequences to our free institutions. If, on the other hand, we can divert these energies as they are released from defense to meet one another's normal wants and create new needs, then, too, our economy will be dynamic and progressive. Vigor has made this a great nation, capable of the miracles of production that are now being performed.

The sensible course is to take our bearings now, and to plan our postwar course. In spite of the difficulties we are bound to meet in our transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy, in spite of the impossibility of anticipating all postwar conditions, we can sketch a picture of the America we want to live in within the range of

what may be practically realized. We can also make progress, even while we are busy with defense, for the postwar world actually is being shaped by what we are thinking and doing now.

Will there be any need after the war for such extensive productive facilities and for so many workers as we are now employing? Yes! The reasonable wants of the American people for goods and services have never been fully met and during the present emergency there will be a more rapid accumulation of such unfulfilled wants.

There is surely enough that needs to be done to keep everybody busy. Suppose forty persons on a lonely island live on fish. The boats and fishing tackle they have constructed permit their fishermen to catch enough fish for only thirty of them. They have three choices: (1) to let ten starve; (2) to eat less fish per capita; (3) to make some more boats and fishing tackle, put out more fishermen, and catch more fish. The last choice is what we would call the American way.

FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY

Circumstances beyond our control have required that our present effort be directed toward national defense. But this is a striking example of the capacity of the American economic system to meet a need. We can do as well to keep America from internal decay. We can be equally aggressive in making it more livable for all our people. We have the same resources for peace as for war. Let us develop the will and the way to use them!

The country that most of us want to live in will keep its freedom. Individual initiative, ingenuity and adventure will have wide range, with only such restrictions as the common good may clearly require. The restraints im-

posed by the government must be justified by their positive value to the individuals living under the government. Whether one works for himself or for another does not determine one's freedom. This depends on one's liberty to choose or to change occupation and association. It depends also on whether or not his work has meaning for him, by itself or as a part in a greater whole; whether or not it brings him respect as a person, and provides a sense of self-fulfillment. For those purposes, the widest possible area consistent with meeting the needs of the people must be kept open for individuals and groups of individuals in their free enterprises. It is not easy to conceive of Americans permanently regimented by public or private authority.

Along with freedom, the America we would live in must provide opportunity. Otherwise, America would be only a geographic term. Our goal from our beginnings as a nation has been equality of opportunity; opportunity for every person to become what he has it in him to be. Circumstances, of course, limit that opportunity. All potential Presidents of the United States cannot reach that office; the corporation can have only one head at a time; the labor union, only one set of officers. Other conditions beyond personal or social control affect opportunity. So do one's own choices. We cannot remove such limitations. But the future will require of our economic system safeguards against such widespread unemployment as we have seen in the past ten years. Unemployment in the case of people able and willing to work is inconceivable in an intelligent economy. Moreover, equitable distribution of income, with a smaller range between high and low earnings, is reasonable. There is no short cut to that end; it is not reached by legislative fiat or executive decree. We shall make real progress only through a meeting of

minds and concerted action on the part of many groups. By providing a better environment for the present underprivileged, by making education everywhere freer, by discouraging unfair discrimination and by steadily improving the organization of our economic activities we can advance farther toward our goal.

ECONOMIC SECURITY

There must be also a consistent program that looks toward increased economic security. Society can provide a certain measure of protection against misfortune, if all who are able to work are willing to bear their share of the burden of aiding the disabled and to set up reserves against their own future. Only out of production can social insurance or social security be maintained. Every possible encouragement, however, must be given workers to earn their own security, for that opportunity is a driving force for enlargement of the common welfare. Relief and pension systems fall of their own weight if so administered as to discourage self-help and weaken initiative and enterprise. On the other hand, we cannot look forward to an America in which social responsibility will not be exercised everywhere for the victims of misfortune.

Enlightened business wishes to live in an America where voluntary cooperation for the common good is on the increase. Is it not by a widespread voluntary cooperation, rather than by coercion, that we are making so amazing a record in building a strong democracy? Here, again, is where religion is the only motivation which will make democracy work. Indeed, many are convinced that religion is the key to the solution of our after-the-war economic problems.

We face the requirement of increasing the social re-

sponsibility of all individuals and, whether we like it or not, a substantial degree of social supervision and regulation of our economic activities. Yet we must avoid regimentation. Between the anarchy of individualism and the enslavement of Hitler's *Ordnung* lies a golden mean. Management, labor, business, and agriculture must discover this golden mean. By pursuing their extremely narrow interests, they will invite extreme curbs on freedom. Or, by self-regulation and self-control, in voluntary consultation and cooperation with one another, and with the friendly, democratic cooperation of the people's government, they can achieve that middle course.

A National Economic Council

There would be no danger to our institutions, indeed there are great possibilities of sound and constructive achievement that will safeguard those institutions, in the establishment of a national economic council.

Such a council[2] could be intelligently chosen from recommendations made by economic groups, for long terms so staggered as to insure continuity, and be given such independence and dignity as are enjoyed by the Supreme Court. While set up with the participation of the major economic groups, it would be responsible to none of them separately.

This council should not be another government bureau, subject to the pressures of party politics, nor should it seek a centralized planned economy. Without mandatory powers, the council that is proposed would consider our national economic problems from the viewpoint of general welfare in the long run. It would serve as a center for mobilizing the intelligence and experience included in

[2]Howard Coonley.

all economic groups, and for analyzing and correlating the information and advice these groups themselves would be encouraged to furnish. It would provide guidance to the public, to trade, industrial, and other associations. As an active clearing house, it would stimulate working out of economic problems by voluntary, nonpolitical agencies.

Perhaps such a council could be set up at first to consider especially the immediate problems of transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. If it worked well, if it kept its independence and dignity, it might become a continuing part of our economic system. It would be particularly likely to endure if, in addition to Mr. Coonley's specifications, the council encouraged the application of scientific methods to economics, and if it related its pronouncements to religious principles and motivations.

COOPERATION VS. DICTATION

Such voluntary cooperation and self-regulation has worked successfully, for example, in the relations of employers and employees in countless individual economic units and in various fields of industry. It has worked in the efforts made through associations representing large groups to solve certain common problems. Government agencies have participated in friendly cooperation rather than arbitrary dictation. Therefore it is legitimate to look forward to an era in which the serious economic problems we now have to face, and others that will arise, will be solved in truly democratic ways, by free men cooperating with enlightened self-interest and a sense of social responsibility.

Finally, we may hope to see this country experience a moral and spiritual uplift, in which two ancient truths

will be felt more deeply in the hearts of the people of every community and every economic group: "We are all members one of another," and "United we stand, divided we fall." Our hearts and minds are the makers of our human environment, our social institutions, our economic life. In our heritage of freedom is our opportunity for the future, our hope of molding the kind of world we want to live in. To realize this hope, we must develop better mutual understanding, stronger trust in one another, and new avenues of constructive cooperation.

If these six elements of the world of the future were accepted by enlightened business, enlightened labor would agree. What it amounts to is application of the values and methods of political democracy to the American economy.[3] The necessity for establishing economic democracy seems to labor to be fundamental to any improvement of human relations. For though human relations are determined by many and complex factors, one potent influence is that of economics. How men make a living and the sort of living they make, shapes largely the nature of the relations that obtain among them.

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

Economic setups such as those of master and slave, liege lord and serf, capitalist and worker, landlord and tenant, merchant and consumer, creditor and debtor, suggest certain definite socioeconomic and political arrangements and practices that bear upon human relations. A system of society under which there exists the economic relation of master and slave violates and destroys the concept and relation of personal freedom among human beings. The slave, being chattel property,

[3]A. Philip Randolph.

is owned as a thing, and hence is bought and sold. Under the old manorial, feudal economy, freedom of movement as a human right did not and could not exist.

The grandeur of the English law, upon which American law is based, is that it is founded upon the rights of every man, and has no place in it *politically* for serf or slave. We are now in that era of human history in which we are outmoding the serf concept in the economic field.

Many industrial workers and agricultural leaders believe that concentrated capitalist control has created problems of industrial monopoly. The people, through their government, must take economic action. Attempts have been made to separate the political from economic activities of society. It became almost an axiom that that government governs best which governs least. This concept of government might have had some semblance of reality in an economy of truly free enterprise. But enterprise has not remained really free. When capitalism extends to a degree of monopoly, then monopoly capitalism envelops and virtually destroys free enterprise. This is feared by organized labor.

The bedrock belief of democracy, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and of the Rights of Man, namely, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with unalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," cannot have genuine reality, labor insists, under a monopoly capitalist order. Nor can the old eighteenth century concept of free enterprise house the new giant social forces of mass production, organized labor, factory agriculture and monopoly capital.

EXTEND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

What, then, do workers want? The dispersal of economic power, comparable with the dispersal of political power, which is a distinctive trait of the liberal political democracies. Just as the hoary concept of political power being the property of the few, based upon birth, wealth, brute force or religious creed, had to be challenged in order to create political democracy, so will it be necessary to challenge the alleged sacred right of the few to hold vast economic power that may spell social misery and poverty for the masses because of the ownership and control of immense and strategic resources and instrumentalities of production and exchange, to achieve economic democracy. Either we extend the democratic process to wider areas of our economic life or democracy declines. The rise of totalitarianism in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Communist Russia gives ample testimony to this assertion.

We have not yet found a system that can escape worldwide periodic economic and industrial depressions. Ownership of land and tools, decisions about the wages people receive and the rules governing their working conditions are vital. Likewise, control of credit by which modern business is carried on has a veto power over the activities by which families live and is, therefore, vital. If vast economic and financial power is concentrated privately in the hands of the few, the people will be able less and less to govern themselves.

Enlightened labor's conclusion, arrived at from such considerations as these, is that economic democracy is our next step. It is essential to the preservation of political democracy and the building of a just, creative, and durable peace within and between nations. Factors, methods

and agencies must eventually democratize economic activities and the ownership and control of our economic machine. The tools of production and distribution are, labor says, democratic trade unions, producers' and consumers' cooperatives, workers' education, the development of labor and farmer national political action, and planning for social ends in the interest of all of the people, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

From thoughtful leaders in the ranks of both business and labor have come various suggestions as to measures that might correct some of the conflicts and misunderstandings that arise in the industrial system and pave the way toward that cooperation that all feel must characterize their future relations in the world we want to live in.

Among them is the suggestion[4] that management and labor both should do a better job of public relations. Management should report on business operations to employees so that its problems and its ideals are more accurately and sympathetically understood. Labor, also, needs to devote more attention to explaining to the general public its view of the closed shop, union initiation fees where they are more than nominal, its determination to stop labor racketeers and to give convincing evidence of the responsibility of its leadership.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT CONFERENCES

Again, it is suggested that there is need for labor-management conferences or instruction meetings, wherein management would be given an opportunity to explain its problems and principles to labor leaders, and labor leaders an equal opportunity to explain their problems and principles to management experts. Many representatives

[4]Round Table on Labor, Business, and Industry.

of both labor and management agree that such a program of mutual education, separated from any conflict situation, would help to forestall disputes arising from misunderstanding.

It is recognized, also, that there is a problem of discrimination in employment against religious and racial minorities. Through the cooperation of both groups, methods may be devised to lessen such discrimination. The consequences of discrimination are specially damaging at the present time, when all available man power is needed for defense industry purposes. Some employers require not only that they be permitted to hire American citizens but also that these citizens shall not be Negroes, or of German extraction, of Italian descent, of Jewish religious beliefs, of Oriental stock or of Mexican origin. This policy rules out 35 per cent of American citizens, a percentage that includes some of our most ardent Americans, and some with very valuable skills. In view of this, it is urged by some that special placement bureaus be established, to work with community committees. This procedure, it is believed, would not only fight discrimination and intolerance but also combat the spread of subversive organizations.

There will appear to be a note of unreality in any discussion of the economic factors that should be incorporated in any future remaking of the world, at a time when we face the possibility of the loss of every value that we hold dear as a consequence of the war that threatens to disrupt the world altogether.[5] While men are being imprisoned by hundreds of thousands, tortured into permanent incapacity or killed by the million, and the danger of the triumph of totalitarianism still threatens, complacent discussions of the future of democracy may

[5]Reuben H. Markham.

seem to be very remote from the realities of current history and to be in danger of obscuring the necessity of immediate and drastic action to avert calamity. The first and immediate necessity for a free people is to cut out the cancerous cells of Nazism.

THE CHOICE CONFRONTING US

Are Americans aware of their danger? We say kind, pleasant words about love for Jews and Christians, although we may soon awake to find there are no Jews except on the island of Madagascar, and no Christians except in catacombs and caves. We talk as though we might make the choice of walking across a bridge from a bad world on one side of the river to a good world on the other bank. We have no such choice. It does not exist. All we may choose is between the slave world of Adolf Hitler and the hard stern world of blood, sweat and tears that we must create in order to stop Hitler's destructive conquest. There is no third choice.

Such a summons to reality must not be ignored. But neither must we overlook the necessity of ordering our thought with regard to the world that ought to be, in advance of the crisis and confusion which will ensue when the war ends.

THE SPIRITUAL ELEMENT SUPREME

Such considerations serve to remind us that the remaking of the world is primarily a spiritual task, and that the most potent factors in any remade world are spiritual forces. Important as is the economic factor[6] in the building of wholesome human relations, the spiritual element in the process is more significant still. The character of

[6]Reuben H. Markham.

the individuals who compose it is the most potent influence in determining the nature and quality of society. Human beings determine economic relations; economic movements do not determine the spirit of a society.

Switzerland is a poor country, inhabited by rich people. Rumania is a rich country, inhabited by poor people. Norway has meager resources. Egypt is potentially a rich country, but Norwegians have reached a high economic standard, while Egyptians live on a low economic level. Such observations should correct the common and pernicious tendency to believe that slick, streamlined economic schemes will bring about ideal human relations.

Many beliefs in the social and economic field are evidently based on delusions and lead to deception. They are eschatological shibboleths, millennial Utopias, expressed in an economic vernacular. They are also a form of passing the buck.

DISTORTED NOTIONS OF REALITY

For example, we say capitalism is the cause of the world's ills, that the profit motive causes wars, want, exploitation and inequality. We turn that into a dragon, then devise a St. Marx to slay the dragon and expect a happy millennium! It is a distorted view of reality. Such eschatologies are inadequate. Before capitalism, a system of dictator kings, such as Louis XIV, caused indescribable suffering to the masses; before dictator kings, feudalism was the curse of mankind; before that, slavery, imperial Pharaohs and primitive tribal despots held sway. To say that capitalism is responsible for all our ills and that some form of collectivism will cure them is like saying that we have earthquakes because Atlas is unsteady and that we shall cure them by putting Atlas on a tortoise.

We are not so naïve as not to realize that even though we do not live by bread alone, we do require bread to live. Our dependence upon bread is plain. We should doubtless like to see that bread fairly distributed, along with butter and jam, also along with cake and frosting, silk stockings, beautiful white colonial houses, and New Hampshire farms. But there is no social device or legal regulation that can bring that about. And for us to believe there is, merely creates delusions and madness.

A GOOD WORLD REQUIRES GOOD PEOPLE

In our present capitalistic world there are economic royalists, some of whom are selfish, and some of whom are pernicious. A few of these exploit their brothers and sisters, stealing things which they did not create, and to which they have no moral right, from others to whom these things morally belong. But how can we do away with these economic thieves? There are such royalists in labor unions, in Communist parties, in monasteries, in the purest theocracies. Generally speaking, there are no organizations in the modern world so brutal as those bearing the word "Socialist." Hitler's party is the N.S.D.A.P., and Stalin's country is the U.S.S.R., both Socialist organizations. In certain former centuries the most cruel institutions were some called Christian.

From all this it follows that mere words and schemes cannot bring about economic fairness. Of course we need plans, laws, organizations, but we need much more. As the Gospel advises, that we should do, but the more vital things we should not leave undone. It goes without saying that we must have labor unions, labor laws, minimum wages, maximum hours, social insurance, that we need universal suffrage, a constitution, courts and traffic cops.

But they themselves do not bring about justice. Some countries with the most ideal laws foster the most outrageous and cynical injustices.

The sum of the matter lies in the very old-fashioned truth that we cannot make a good world unless we devote our chief attention to making good individuals, good families, good nations. It is fallacious to expect that the good society is going to be swept in on some stupendous *Wave of the Future*. Making the good world is very much harder than that. Society may have mechanical aspects, but it is not a machine. It is not self-starting, nor self-guiding. Classes, groups and parties cannot allow themselves all sorts of self-indulgence or disloyalty, or special privileges, and expect in spite of that to create a good society by laws and prohibitions.

No Freedom Without Discipline

We have reached a stage in economic development where elemental integrity is especially needed. Most of us now work for other people. We are employees and have bosses. Most of us have no productive wealth; most work with machines owned by others; and most live in large, densely populated, urban segregations. Since that is the case, our fate depends on general harmony and general loyalty. One disloyal driver on our crowded roads may bring catastrophe to all.

Therefore, we have extreme need of cooperation, and it must be chiefly voluntary. Forced cooperation always degenerates into the regime of a chain gang, whether the coercer is a Pharaoh, an Assyrian theocrat, a clerical autocrat, a Hitler, a Stalin or an economic royalist. Since that is the case, we must follow the only existing way to harmony, which is from personal loyalty to wide social

loyalty. Attempted short cuts are breaking up the social process and bringing the world into danger. But loyalty means self-discipline, or self-determined discipline. There can be no freedom without self-discipline. If we do not discipline ourselves we shall have yokes, imposed by others.

SUMMARY

The need exists to think together in fresh terms about our economic customs. The enlightened businessman wants the dynamic elements of risk and adventure retained, expects government, traffic policemen and lights to keep order. But Americans do not want this supervision to be carried to the degree of totalitarian national socialism. Americans also should avoid Russia's mistake of failing to leave place for individual initiative, competition of ideas, rivalry in work. *Freedom, opportunity, social security,* and *spirituality* are essential traits, while the machinery of democratic conference should be put in motion as a "national economic council." To these specifications by Howard Coonley are added laborite Philip Randolph's plea for the transfer of the values and methods of political democracy to democracy in industry. More talking-things-over between workers and management is urgent. The three processes necessary to democratic community life and to religious intercultural relations are applicable among economic parties: (1) individuals in each group who must understand the aims of the other groups; (2) become aware that *some* aims are common to all groups; (3) work together for the common objectives.

English religious leaders, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, agree on four points for the economic order of the future: (1) the abolition of extreme inequality of wealth;

(2) equal educational opportunities for all children regardless of race or class; (3) the protection of the family as the social unit; (4) equal access to the world's resources for all peoples. There is no perfect paper plan which will guarantee such justice. The spirit of the individual, yours and mine, finally determines the result.

III

Politics

ANY CONSIDERATION of the world we want to live in leads into the field of politics and government. Talk about a social order in our nation, and we are faced with political ideas and political action directly attacking the kind of a nation we want to live in. Talk about economics on an international scale, and we are confronted with politics again: modern economic interdependence of all nations must have world-wide political machinery to regulate the society of nations. All around us a war is being fought, and the main point of that war is political, for it will decide whether the government of the world is to be tyranny or a government of free people, by free people, and for free people. Even in talking about religion today we cannot avoid politics, because the fundamental struggle in the twentieth century is between those who would make of secular nationalism a religion, and those who would have nations serve God.

Secular nationalism means the subordination of man to the body politic, a form of idolatry which subordinates ethics to national advantage.[1] Morality is turned upside

[1]Geoffrey Schmidt.

down, for the end justifies the means. Group relationships and individual relationships, then, are governed by strategy and lies, not by love and honesty. To suggest the need for a supernatural elevation, for the impulse of divine grace, becomes meaningless.

MEANINGS OF NATIONALISM

The doctrine of nationalism as it was at first defined, however,[2] is not the total nationalism of the moment whose other names are Fascism and Nazism. Fascism and Nazism are extremities, indeed perversions of nationalism as it was originally conceived in the eighteenth century—160 years ago—and as it has been propagated by numberless fine spirits ever since.

The doctrine of nationalism was first formulated in 1784 by Johann Gottfried von Herder, a German pietistic Lutheran clergyman. Herder was the outspoken foe of racialism, of intolerance, of imperialism. It was always with a tender regard for minorities within and aliens without, always in the interest of a higher humanity, that he urged the conservation of national culture and the right of national self-determination.

With the name of Herder is associated that of the Italian Mazzini, who preached national freedom for his people and toiled incessantly to achieve it. But Mazzini was a conscientious democrat and he was as insistent upon the duties as upon the rights of a democratic nationality. Its first duty, according to him, was to demand nothing for itself which it was unwilling to grant to others. If Italians have a right to be a nation, so had the Greeks and Yugoslavs and every other self-conscious people.

[2]Carlton J. H. Hayes.

The majority of leading nationalists of the nineteenth century shared fully the ideals of Herder and Mazzini, never contemplating any conflict between their love of nation and their love of humanity, never wanting the dignity of human personality to be sacrificed to the nation, never advocating racialism or dictatorship or any other agency of intolerance.

PROGRAM OF LIBERAL NATIONALISM

The liberal nationalism of such men as Herder and Mazzini remained the ideal, in our own century, of one of our great American presidents, Woodrow Wilson. He gave it eloquent expression in his addresses, and especially in his Fourteen Points, two of which he deemed fundamental to all the others for any lasting peace settlement in Europe, in the world. The one was the right of national self-determination, the other, the creation of a League of Nations; nationalism in association with internationalism. And the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, etc., following the First World War in 1919–1920, actually enshrined much of Woodrow Wilson's idealism. It was so recognized at that time by most Jews, by Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI and by most Protestant organizations.

So from 1784 when Herder penned his famous treatise on nationalism to 1919, when Woodrow Wilson attached his signature to the Treaty of Versailles—a span of 135 years—very real progress seemed to have been made toward the goal of a nationalism that would be a means to a humanitarian end. It would preserve respect for individual liberty. It would respect the rights of other nationalities, small as well as large. It would foster the democratic way of life. It would be tolerant and pacific. In a

word, it would be quite compatible with the highest of Judaeo-Christian traditions and aspirations.

Alas, twenty years after the peace settlement of 1919, it is not that kind of nationalism which has precipitated the Second World War and which is the outstanding menace to world peace now and in the future. It is the nationalism not of Herder, but of Hitler. Not of Mazzini, but of Mussolini. It is that perverted nationalism which would be an end in itself, which would chain every individual to the national state, and subordinate to it all his economic, religious and other activities; a despotic nationalism, and one that is imperialistic, that divides races and nations into "superior" and "inferior" and would reduce the latter to the status of helots and slaves; a dictatorial, totalitarian, bellicose nationalism, the precise antithesis in all respects of historic Western civilization and of its vitalizing spiritual essence, Judaeo-Christianity.

NATIONALISM OF THE FUTURE

The task of the present and the future is to resuscitate the original spiritual, democratic, and liberal nationalism, the nationalism in harmony with the teaching of Jewish Prophets and Christian Fathers, and to stamp out the recently derived, intolerant and despotic nationalism. In other words, we must start afresh, as from 1919.

In any future peace settlement, if it is to be at all enduring, recognition must again be accorded the principle of nationality and the right of national self-determination. Provision must definitely be made for the erection of a free and united national state for each and every people that wants it, whether that people be numerous or few. If they want self-government, Poles and Czechs and Greeks and Irish, Finns and Albanians, Chinese and Ethiopians,

even Basques and Catalans, are as much entitled to it as Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Englishmen, Russians, Japanese or Americans. To be sure, it is not easy to provide absolutely just territorial boundaries for every European people. The last war proved that. But a serious attempt must be made, with justice no more denied to militarily defeated than to militarily victorious peoples. And for ethnic, as well as for religious, minorities who perforce remain in a particular national state, special guarantees must be provided.

Yet we have learned no lesson from the experiences of the last twenty-five years if we imagine that the erection of a lot of national states and the paper guaranteeing of minority rights will of themselves assure the triumph of liberal democratic nationalism and get rid of the perverted kind which is, and ever must be, a supreme menace to world peace. There are *four* other requirements.

First, there must be a series of regional understandings, for the twofold purpose of combining groups of national states in a number of relatively large free trade areas, and of affording all of them free access to raw materials. For this purpose, the concept of the absolute sovereignty of each national state will have to be modified and restricted.

END AMERICAN ALOOFNESS

Second, there must be a real and comprehensive League of Nations, with a Covenant with "teeth" in it. That is to say, the League must be something more than a debating society or an occasional conference of diplomats. It must be equipped with an international army or police force, empowered to prevent aggression and capable of doing so successfully. Here again the sovereignty of individual states will have to be abridged.

Third, there must be an end to our own American aloofness and holier-than-thou attitude. We were the finally determining factor in winning the last World War, but more than any other nation, even more than Nazi Germany, we have been responsible for losing the peace and bringing on the present World War. We insisted upon our rights and spurned our duties. Victims ourselves of a bad kind of narrow nationalism, we repudiated the League of Nations which our own President had fashioned, and we thus set the pace for all its later floutings by other powers. Moreover, we selfishly and short-sightedly refused to forgive the inter-Allied debts and thereby prevented any timely forgiving of the fateful German reparations. The result is that Germany now has Hitler, while we are accumulating a debt for national defense which makes the inter-Allied debts and the reparations of the last war seem trivial.

America, quite as much as Germany or any other nation, must discipline its nationalism with religion. It must accordingly sacrifice some of its exclusiveness and fancied superiority, even some of its sovereignty. That is a perfectly obvious lesson from the events of the past twenty years and of today. If idealism does not guide us, or a sense of justice and charity, at least an enlightened self-interest should. Let us not go on spending all our substance forever in a series of vain attempts to lock barn doors after horses are stolen. We ruin ourselves in contributing to the ruin of Europe and the world.

EDUCATE FOR COOPERATION

There is a fourth requirement which transcends all others, even the highly important ones already mentioned. It is educational within each nation, beginning for us right

here within the United States. We say we cherish personal liberty and the democratic way of life. These are mere words, mere slogans, unless we truly believe in them and seek on every occasion to translate them into action. The only way to assure personal liberty and the democratic way of life is to understand and respect differences among us, and in the realm of common citizenship to cooperate with one another. We Americans are singularly blessed in that we are different. To remove differences, or to seek to remove them, is the surest road to the curse of totalitarian nationalism. But to respect differences, and not to misrepresent or malign them, that is essential to democratic and decent living together. And all of us can and must cooperate, whether we are Protestants, Catholics or Jews, and regardless of our ethnic origins, to secure for our people a much greater measure of economic security and a much deeper spiritual life. For without both of these any future peace settlement will be fruitless and transitory.

Here is sufficient and all-impelling work for the National Conference of Christians and Jews to perform now and in the future. If intelligently prosecuted by an ever-widening number among all our groups, it will contribute enormously to the revival and triumph of that liberal, humanitarian and fundamentally spiritual nationalism which is *not* a menace to world peace.

NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS

More specifically, the sort of world government that is needed by any sort of future world that we can anticipate with satisfaction is a commonwealth of nations that would necessarily admit all nations, great and small, upon

a basis of juridical equality. Three additional steps[3] in the direction of world peace might well be taken by the United States: membership in the World Court, full cooperation with the International Labor Office, and the creation, with other nations, of a genuine mandate authority for the administration of subject peoples until these peoples are ready for national statehood.

The action of an international police force to insure the successful functioning of world government can easily be overstressed. Police authority would probably be more like that of the traffic police than of the military. To be sure, occasions requiring the use of such an agency would constantly arise, were the machinery of world government misused for the purpose of preserving an unjust status quo or an international order morally indefensible. If, as so often happened in the operations of the League of Nations, one or more of the great powers were to hide their sinister political manipulations under the cover of the world community, unrest would be engendered, revolt against the society of nations would be threatened, and sanctions, economic or military, or both, would have to be involved.

Christian and Jewish pacifists are often criticized for their refusal to support the use of an international police force. For this refusal, they are said to be perfectionists, hopelessly unrealistic. But the fear of these critics must be allayed. A combination of the British and American fleets, for example, masquerading as an international police force and used for the preservation of British and American empires would be no more justifiable from a religious point of view than would a combination of the military, naval and air forces of the Axis powers thrown

[3]Walter Van Kirk.

into action for the no less ignoble purpose of extending the area of Axis aggression.

From a religious standpoint, the justification for the use of an international police agency requires that this force shall be exercised not to resist aggression aimed at injustice, but rather to prevent the overthrow of a world community in which conscientious efforts were constantly being made to secure and maintain justice. The use of force for the preservation of law and order by a world society that is heroically bent upon establishing justice is not immoral, provided the force then used is organically representative of and responsible to the world society.

The problems presented by the necessity of rebuilding the world after the war raise the question of the part that the United States must inevitably play in it.

In the long run, the future falls in large measure to the United States. This is plain destiny; we could not change it save by sheer betrayal. If you cut off American supplies,[4] a great part of the world goes on short rations. If you cut off American technical and mechanical development, much of the world's progress ends. The situation is bluntly this. You cannot make peace with Hitler. But you cannot make peace without the New World.

This is why one group of brilliant journalists insists that the next era will be the "American Century." The phrase is a good one only if the word "American" is taken in its broadest, finest sense.

No one wants an American empire, with an American Rudyard Kipling to sing the glories of the white man's burden. Indeed, the strength of Britain, in her hour of trial, was not the Empire with the English as a master race, but proved to be the Commonwealth, in which British, Canadians (French, English and Scotch alike),

[4]A. A. Berle.

Dutchmen from South Africa, Australians and New Zealanders banded together in a common cause. It is very clear that the American genius is the genius of a commonwealth and not of an imperial system. The American family of nations which has given an increased unity of purpose to twenty-one New World republics could only have been achieved by sincere renunciation of imperialist aims.

DEMOCRACY BUILT ON DIVERSITIES

The great achievement of the United States has been its ability to develop the genius of many races, to end the hatreds which divided Russian from Pole, Irish from English, Germans from French, Gentiles from Jews. The result has not been perfect, of course. There are, occasionally, groups which disgrace the American scene by cultivating intolerance. There are sometimes politicians unscrupulous enough to trade on race dislikes. But these sporadic movements have never had more than momentary success. The anti-Catholic politicians of two generations ago left no record save that of failure. The anti-Semites of the Ku Klux Klan incident are forgotten men. Today we recognize any move to organize race intolerance for what it really is: a movement bought and paid for by some foreign propagandist whose interest is to undermine the United States.

This is not a matter of speculation. The documents of current history prove it. In a report recently made to his employers by a German agent, he boasted that he had done two things for his Nazi masters. He had, he thought, inflamed certain American groups against Negroes. And he also claimed to have taught Negroes in certain areas to hate Jews.

Actually, the United States has been the greatest sanctu-

ary for the oppressed; race hatred has received less encouragement than in any other country. From this we have drawn that wealth of diverse talent which, taken together, has given us world leadership. Of the national figures today, a Roosevelt is of Dutch origin; a Wallace, of Scotch descent; a La Guardia, of Italian stock; a Knudsen, of Danish blood; a Willkie, of German antecedents. Our most famous singer is a Negress; our two great violinists are Jascha Heifetz, a Jew, and Albert Spalding, a Yankee.

This is a strictly democratic result. Without democracy in action, it would not have happened. No other system brings out the ability and the energy of so many groups. No other system makes the work of each group available to the whole of a country. Now, when we have to think in terms of a commonwealth of countries, no other principle seems intelligent. Given two systems, one of which releases the capacity of all its peoples, while the other represses the potentialities of some in order to exalt others, and the former is sure to come out first over a period of time.

DEMOCRACY ITS OWN ARGUMENT

This is not to suggest that we, or any country, have the right to impose any form of government on any other country. Nations have to find their own ways toward freedom, and no one of us is wise enough to solve the problems of another people. What we can do is to share in creating a cooperative situation within which each can work out his own problems with the least possible disturbance to anyone else. That was, and is, the theory of the Good Neighbor policy which is the outline of a democracy of nations.

In time, democracy's own truth will impose itself. It

always has. Here it is necessary to avoid confusion of ideas. There is immense difference between clearing out a nest of would-be conquerors and trying to force our own ideas of government on other people. Making the world safe is not the same as making it safe for democracy. The task at the moment is to make a world that is safe for anybody. Once that is done the long march of civilization will be resumed; that long march which has always meant increasing opportunity for ever greater numbers to choose their own way of life. If America in the era to come spreads democracy as a world system, it will be by example, not by force, save as force is needed in the common defense.

The example of America, nevertheless, is bound to be enormously significant in the coming years. If it meets with any check, that check is far more likely to come from within than from without. Let us strike a brief balance, to see what we have and what we have to overcome.

First among American assets is her swift and instinctive kindliness. No nation in the world has been so ready with assistance to those in distress; so anxious to be friendly, where friendship is asked; so angry at wanton cruelty.

With this goes an unparalleled economic strength; the ability to assist with supplies and men, with the fertility of engineering skill or with disinterested relief; with money or with medicine.

And as a nation we are disinterested. We covet no territory; we have no delusion that national glory requires conquest or domination.

In short, we have in our hands the power to do for ourselves and for others whatever we really wish.

AMERICA'S UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

On the debit side we have a great many unsolved problems. It is impossible to imagine a postwar world in which labor does not play a large part. But that calls for labor leadership of a high order: for leaders who are statesmen enough to clear out the graduated racketeers who are all too often found in positions of influence, or foreign agitators who importune American labor to forward foreign political aims. A good deal of elementary house cleaning has to be done in American labor, and no one knows it better than American workmen and the more responsible American labor leaders.

Equally, the next phase will need the most capable business, economic and financial direction which can be used. We have men capable of imagining and carrying out the huge task of reconstruction. But we have plenty who try to dodge unpleasant realities by running away from the savage problems of the day; and some, who flirt, as French business did, with the idea of striking a deal with a Nazi world. We shall have to make the solid point that business and economic leadership is a profession and not a method of self-aggrandizement.

And we shall need the best brains we have. Our intellectuals will be called on increasingly. Research, planning, the opening of new fields of thought, the discussion which alone makes ideas possible of political or economic achievement in their special field. We have them: brave thinkers and students. But among them are strange groups who are unsure of themselves, fearful that they are not "liberal" if a communist party line disagrees, and others who are so aware of what is wrong that they have lost the belief in anything that is right. The time has come for the American intellectual world to realize its own

strength; to drop its preoccupation with foreign revolutionary opinion; to stand solid, responsible, with eyes to the front on its own firm earth.

ASSETS OF AMERICA

On balance, there is a vast surplus capable of accomplishing a great deal in the coming world. Internationally, the outlines are beginning to emerge. The great constellation of American republics has moved together with a unanimity unknown in past years. To this there is united the strengthening fabric of friendship with the British commonwealth of nations. In the Far East there is America's classic friendship with China. At the war's end we may hope for a new Europe, looking in some part to this country of many cultures. It is a prospect whose vistas dazzle even the clearest eyes.

It is possible at last to see the vague proportions of a world in which hatreds are cured; in which human beings are once more children of God and not fodder for war; in which systems of government or business or thought are designed to develop and not to repress the infinite potentialities which lie hidden in the mind of every man. It is fitting now to dream great dreams, while the work of defense and war goes forward. This can be the contribution of democracy to the world future. There is no other role which Americans would wish to have. America must set about the colossal task of rebuilding as bravely as her ancestors undertook the work of founding the first great modern democracy.

Without a doubt a factor of growing importance in this world of the future, particularly affecting the part that the United States will play in its building, is the unanim-

ity with which "the great constellation of American republics" lives and works together.

To an increasingly large degree[5] the countries of North and South America are recognizing that they have a joint responsibility to the rest of the world. Unity of sympathy and action are possible to them as they are not elsewhere. There is no place in the world other than this hemisphere where there are no ancient, deep-rooted prejudices between nations. The boundaries between the twenty-one republics plus the Canadian quarter have none of the military fortifications that we find in other parts of the world.

COMMON DUTIES OF AMERICANS

A characteristic of this hemisphere is that we have one of the greatest collections of cultural and material wealth that is to be found anywhere in the world. Because of this rich heritage that dates back so many centuries, we have a joint responsibility to act as moderator in the world of today, to give the leadership which this world so badly needs. Yet in order to achieve a situation and condition in the world which will allow us to exercise as effectively as we can this position of responsibility, we must first overcome in this hemisphere some of our childish misunderstandings which exist about each other arising from a mutual ignorance, one might say, from a lack of knowledge of each other's way of life, from each other's problems, a lack of knowledge about the people and the customs of the countries. Again, we must unite at this particular time, draw more closely together in the common defense of the hemisphere, and, at the same time, in the restoration of legal order throughout the world.

Economic relations between the United States and its

[5]Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Latin-American neighbors are said to be now at the most favorable point in years. Purchases from South America by the United States are now as large in value as all the purchases of both this country and Europe from South America in 1938. During the last year, this country made purchases of $1,200,000,000 from South America, compared to $500,000,000 in 1938.

COOPERATION OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS

The objectives of the government of this country are the economic stability of the hemisphere, the social security of the hemisphere, the political independence of the individual American republics and an increase in the orderly exchange of cultural and material production throughout the hemisphere. We are conscious that we must accept their right and their freedom to determine their political forms and their attitudes toward persons and property for themselves, in the interest of their own welfare as they see it, but that we must insist that there be no domination from outside powers of any one of the countries in the hemisphere, without exception.

Speaking neither of the world, nor the hemisphere, nor the continent, Thomas E. Dewey sums up the picture of what we should like to find politically secure tomorrow here in the largest of the American republics. We pray that reason and integrity will prevail.[6] Aggression will have no place. We in America will have a deep concern with the mode of life and with the quality of the government under which we live. Uppermost in our minds is the continuous improvement of the lot of all our people. We must resume our long delayed progress in the production and distribution of goods. This must be done

[6]Thomas E. Dewey.

with greater fairness. It must be done so as broadly to insure individual employment and security.

REVITALIZING THE REPUBLIC

The purposes of a free people include industrial and scientific advances. But with these we merely start. We are concerned equally with the cultural and spiritual freedoms which the totalitarians deny. We are even more concerned with the science of representative government, with the dignity of the individual, and with the art of living together in mutual respect. We should like to live in a revitalized republic. How shall we create this new vitality in our system?

First, we should like to see every American live his daily life alert to the fact that our fundamental freedoms cannot be taken for granted. The great danger we face is that we become too complacent and smug. Men pay lip service to freedom of religion and yet despise others who do not share their religious beliefs. Many enjoy political freedom and yet distrust the man who holds a different political faith. Equality of race and color are fundamental with us, and yet in daily action equality is denied. We want to see an America in which every citizen recognizes that only he can guard his own freedoms. These freedoms must be reborn and developed in each generation, lest they die.

Second, we should like to see a rebirth of the American system of checks and balances in government. Leadership is properly expected of every executive; federal, state and local. Such leadership may well increase in importance in a complicated society. So, too, will there be increased danger of headstrong or oppressive action. Thus, it is not less but more imperative that we revitalize the independence

of the legislatures and the courts. Our government was devised for the protection of minorities and to prevent the destruction of liberties or rights by temporary majorities. To preserve these guarantees of freedom, we must strengthen the quality and independence of each of the three separate branches of government.

Third, we should like to see the day when men of ability and experience are expected, as a matter of duty, to enter actively into public life. The science of government is highly complicated. We cannot afford incompetence in any branch. Governmental regulation of our economic life has increased greatly, and will probably continue to increase, in the highly complex world into which we are moving. And still the ablest men in business, labor, agriculture, education and other fields are rarely found in public positions of importance except during a temporary period of crisis. The people of this country, aware of the difficulty of their problems, will elect able men if given an opportunity. Moreover, they will applaud and support any administration which appoints such men to administrative and judicial posts.

What, then, is the prospect, consonant with such political ideals as these, which Mr. Berle says "dazzles the clearest eyes"? It is the possibility of making the American Dream come true. Perhaps we need a sense of mission about this vision. We have a political ideal which the world needs, the story of one nation where people of forty different nationalities are free and friendly. Here men of many nationalities, races and religions are learning to live together in cooperative fashion and are finding that unity as citizens of one country is compatible with the maintenance of cultural differences.

Europe, and the whole world, should listen to this story. Here is a nation as wide as a continent, with a

single Constitution, a Declaration of Independence for all, a Bill of Rights for every last family. Louis Adamic[7] pleads that immediately after the war deputations of Americans be sent back to the lands of their forebears: Americans of Scandinavian background to Sweden, Norway and Denmark; Americans of German stock who now really believe in the American way, to visit Germany, and so to Ireland, England, France, Italy, Poland, Russia and all the others. Let Europe hear from the lips of their own sons and daughters something about the American Dream. Not a dream completely realized, but an ideal for government, law, and traffic police which carries great promise for mankind's pursuit of happiness.

SUMMARY

Because there is no enduring basis for the rights of man in any nation, save in the conviction that man is a creature of God, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews are interested in political foundations for the postwar nations. The twist totalitarian nationalism has taken, away from the nineteenth century philosophy of nationalism, includes the abandonment of the foundation of religion, the denial of the dignity of personality, the avoidance of the moral law. The sobering truth to be drawn from Professor Hayes' analysis is that any nation (even the United States!) which starts from the premise of secular considerations only, and bows out God and the natural law, will tend to move logically step by step to some form of Hitler's nationalism.

The time has come to realize that all the nations are members of one body, and some form of a League or a Commonwealth of Nations is politically necessary. The

[7] *Two Way Passage,* Harper & Bros., New York, 1941.

consensus of American proposals pretty much lines up with Pope Pius' five principles for peace: (1) some form of international organization must be created; (2) the right to life of all nations safeguarded; (3) mutual disarmament; (4) the just demands of all nations must be honored; (5) the principles of Divine Law must guide any peace settlement.

IV

Education

THE fundamental and primary problem of education for the world we want to live in, is that of enlarging the group to which men consciously belong.[1] We have learned as individuals to express ourselves. We need to enlarge our conception of ourselves to include membership in a world group whose interests, therefore, become our interests. It would be easy to make men temporarily dependent on each other through fear. For permanent unity a group must be held together by mutual interest without fear of an outsider. This requires an educated imagination. Cultivating that kind of imagination involves intellectual awareness, favorable emotional conditioning and practical experience. We must acquire information about diverse groups and make friends with them, recognizing cultural similarities and the supplementary nature of cultural diversities. This is the large task of education.

[1]Mildred McAfee.

FUNCTION OF THE SCHOOL

We must define, however, what contribution we may expect from the school in such a process. There are limits both to its duty and its capacity. It is not the function of the school[2] to build the new social order. Its function is to make the builders of the ever new social order. As that is done, with men of good will living in cooperation, we can use the legal and social processes of society to transform the things as they are into the world in which we should like to live. And that is a never-ending growth.

The duty of the school to fit youth for life in a cooperative society is clear. In the days when science was young and still dogmatic,[3] it ascribed the origin of our world to a cosmic catastrophe. We were taught the grim fact that we live on a fragment violently torn from a Gargantuan planet. In the faith of their fathers, Jews and Christians tell a gentler story of the origin of this our fragment. It was willed into being by Infinite Intelligence as the habitat of people with an appointed mission: to live together in amity. Education is the torch that lights the way to this divinely ordained brotherhood. To do this, educators must encompass all the forces that influence human behavior—the family, the church, the school, companions, the museum, the library, the theatre, the newspaper, all of life. A more restricted conception of education is the sum total of the influence of supervised schooling. Can education, so narrowed, influence human relations? Look at Germany, Italy and Russia; the frightening results there dispel any doubts.

[2]Edward A. Fitzpatrick.
[3]Paul Klapper.

FIRST DUTY OF EDUCATION

The refinement of human relations is both the primary concern and the ultimate aim of education in a democracy. Under totalitarianism, the relationship of society or state to the individual is one of complete domination. The greater the subordination of the individual, the closer does statism come to its goal. In a democracy, there is a mutual relation between society and the individual. Each draws strength from the other; each weakens as the other is suppressed; each sacrifices for the greater glory of the other. If the democracies are today temporarily unprepared for military combat, it is because they sought to assure their citizens a reasonably full life. They lived consistently in the light of their social philosophy. For the postwar world let us hold to the belief that to achieve military strength by impoverishing and regimenting citizens, is a denial of faith in the mutual relationship between man and his society.

Education has a double social obligation; to free men and to teach them to preserve that freedom for others. Only, therefore, that educational agency which is itself free; only that educational agency which is conceived in the spirit of democracy can quicken those human relations that make for an abundant society.

Among the retarding factors in the educational system, the absence of a pervading philosophy of education which supplies both a motivation and a set of goals for our sustained efforts is the most important. Despite our opposition to authoritarianism as a way of life, its basic principles still characterize much in elementary, and still more in secondary, education. Despite our recognized need of a self-imposed discipline, the sponsors of the new education still advocate child-centered schools, ap-

parently unmindful that life is society-centered. Despite the strides made in all fields by methods of scientific experimentation, educational practice is, on the whole, still settled by acrimonious debate and by the triumph of words over more words. Certainly there is no need for ruthless elimination of honest differences among sincere teachers. America has achieved a geographic federation of continental dimensions; it must evolve an intellectual federation in which individual differences will be preserved against that background of common faith which is the American mind.

DANGERS OF MISEDUCATION

Education can save a civilization. It may wreck one, too. Our naïve American faith in education seldom takes that into account, nor does that conception of education which regards it as an adaptation or adjustment to the kaleidoscopic changes of our machine civilization. Education should be a search for the abiding and permanent values in human life.

Education is an instrument that the dictators know how to use. They have learned an important lesson to which we should give heed, and that is that formative education is not only the school but that it is the whole social life of the individual. The immediate advantage of the educational systems of the dictatorships is that the social life of the Nazi community reinforces the work done in the classroom, while with us what is learned in the community often contradicts what is taught in the schools. Confusion outside of the classroom is reflected within the classroom. The long run advantage, however, is with us, for people are not puppets; all of the people, as Lincoln said, cannot be fooled all of the time. If the

schools will discipline youth in the enduring values, train them in moral decisions, prepare them to make sacrifices, teach them how to think, and prepare them to live in a society of many cultures, competing ideas and rivalries in excellence, then the civilization of the free countries will outlive that of the slave states.

EDUCATION AND HUMAN RELATIONS

In the process of training youth for life in a cooperative society,[4] we face a new situation, in a world in which our older educational ideas and processes are not as adequate as they once were. If we would educate people for better human relations, we must move away from the inadequate emphasis upon the absolute freedom of the individual that prevailed in the past, the notion that the individual, that is, the selfish interest of the individual, is alone to be considered. That will no longer serve. It never really served but we see now that it is impossible. We must adopt the religious point of view: that the individual must be considered in his relation to the social whole. The social whole works for the good of each individual and each individual must do his part to make the social whole good. It is along these lines that we must educate individuals in the realm of human relations.

We must make it clear that it is the aim of education to create better human relations. The individual must, first of all, be live-with-able himself. Further, he must appreciate the rights and feelings of others than himself, so that he will understand better as he grows older what justice demands, and accept more personal responsibility for working for the common good.

[4]William H. Kilpatrick.

We must build a philosophy of education that will enable us to see more clearly the relationship of the individual to the whole of society. Nor does this stop with the nation. All mankind must be included. No definition of citizenship that is bounded by our own country is an adequate definition either of citizenship or of education. We must accept as an aim for education what is a worthy aim for life. We must bend our efforts to teach that the best of the good life should be made available to all and that the application of this principle should be extended to all the world.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Such a conception of the purpose of education requires a type of teacher able to impart it and this note, therefore, must be sounded in the normal schools. Too few teachers, for example, know the story of *race,* or the meaning of *a culture*. Interesting experiments in teacher training, in the development of classroom materials and methods to forestall intolerance and increase inter-religious and inter-racial understanding and appreciation in the schools, may be observed in various parts of the country. The Workshop of Intercultural Education, for example, held at the Colorado State College of Education during the summer of 1941,[5] started with a study of "the anatomy of prejudice" with the object of determining why men think and act as they do. The problem was approached from a psychiatric angle, to determine what causes prejudice, how it works, how it affects those on the receiving end and also those who display it. A conclusion drawn from these studies by those who par-

[5]Violet Edwards: this report is published by The National Conference and Colorado College.

ticipated in it was that if intercultural education can do no more than prevent teachers from passing on misinformation, prejudice and ignorance in their classrooms, it would be more than justified. It can have much more positive and constructive results.

Sound educational principles that bear on the improvement of human relations must be adapted to the various educational levels. They may be applied to teaching processes appropriate to the entire range of the curriculum in the primary grades, in secondary schools and in the colleges.

Prejudice is often rooted in the experience of very young children. How is it that some children become predisposed very early in life to take on undesirable patterns of behavior[6] and some do not? Certain unfortunate experiences in the early life of the child tend to twist and warp his personality and so predispose him to fear, anxiety and a whole host of mental ills. There is no time in a child's life, not even in the early weeks of infancy, when the world into which he is born does not affect him, attracting him to it if it satisfies his needs, making him hostile to it if it thwarts and frustrates him in the fulfillment of those needs. For instance, in the simple matter of food, a baby who receives too little of the kind of food he needs becomes a cross and fretful baby. On the other hand, the child who has to stow away more food than he can take with comfort, learns to end each feeding with a display of rage. And these early experiences of peevishness and temper may become habits, habits of resentment and vindictiveness that are potent factors in the growth of hatred and intolerance.

[6]Sister Mary de Lourdes.

SECURITY AND AFFECTION

Perhaps what is of more importance than nutrition needs in early life is the need for security and affection. Yet in a study made a year or so ago at Whittier College the following was found to be true: Out of one hundred and eleven nursery school children relatively few had the experience of physical closeness to the mother during the first nine months of life. Most of the mothers had been warned not to cuddle and fondle their babies. And this study could be repeated in countless urban areas throughout the country. The pendulum, we may be thankful to say, is beginning to swing back now so that mothers can kiss their babies without fear of damaging them! The old saw "You cannot give what you haven't got" is more than a truism in this matter of love and affection. To love our neighbors as ourselves takes more out of the best of us than we care to admit. To love your enemies, to do good to them that hate you is impossible unless there is within a wellspring of charity, a spring that rises from an innermost sense of being oneself loved and accepted. Hence, if the child, specially in early life, lacks the rich vital warmth of family love it is only natural that he should become insecure and self-centered.

But even when the nutritional and emotional needs are well satisfied the adult world may set limits to his social development by demanding too much of him or by expecting too little from him as he advances in age. Therefore, psychologists warn us that from the seventh month on, our prejudices begin to tell on our children. The tone of voice rather than the word itself carries meaning to them. The facial expressions of approval or disapproval condition their imitative stunts. The parents' reaction to

the street-cleaner, the window-washer and the stranger tends to dictate the child's reaction.

BUILDING ATTITUDES OF APPRECIATION

Those who have worked with little children especially in the preschool years believe that one of the most important factors in the building up of attitudes toward other people is that of continuous contact in situations that make for mutual appreciation. They base this belief on the experience they have had with groups of children of various races, culture-strains and religions in nursery schools where over a fairly long period of time there is no evidence of racial or religious antagonisms. We know that, with older children in situations that give rise to continual opposition and strife, religion and race become the handiest weapon to use against the foe and the most powerful one in organizing groups for battle.

A study of birthday parties and other social functions reveals another step in the divisive process of exclusion. Of course one cannot invite a whole nursery school to a party and so there are parents who invite only children of their own friends to their child's party. Parents with a greater degree of social conscientiousness allow the child to choose his own guests or ask the school for help. In either case it will be discovered that the birthday and other parties go a long way toward forming the child's attitude in the pattern of exclusion or in releasing him for happier and friendlier contacts on a wider social level in the school.

The question, therefore, arises, What shall be done about all this? One answer may be offered, one that confines itself to what could be done in America about those

developmental needs of children that are so important for religious living and for life in a democracy.

RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

If we believe that respect for the individual is a fundamental principle in the Judaeo-Christian ideal and hence in the democratic idea; if we accept the implications of this principle in the whole field of growth and development; if we agree that the understanding and practice of this principle can be started only in homes that reflect this ideal, then we might consider a threefold plan similar to that suggested by Dr. Gasell of the Yale School of Medicine. The first point of this plan is concerned with extending health supervision and the field of medical care so that there will be a much greater emphasis than there is at present on the psychological foundations of family and group life.

A second answer has to do with the education of parents. Parental education should be directed toward acquiring a working philosophy for the development of the whole child which will give perspective to the everyday problems of childhood rather than mere technical knowledge of child management. Preparental education should provide a practical type of biology and of psychology that would take the adolescent and the young adult out of himself by centering his attention on the problem of human development and the social growth of children.

Much may be learned in the area of secondary education from hopeful experiments such as have been lately made in the public schools of Springfield, Massachusetts. Here[7] a project has been conducted by a committee of

[7]Alice L. Halligan.

principals, supervisors and teachers, whose purpose it was to see what could be done to counteract what seemed to be a growing intolerance and prejudice, a tendency to split into disunited racial and national groups. This committee was appointed at the suggestion of the Committee on Educational Policies of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and has been at work for two years.

Of the work of this committee, it is important to note, first, that it was continuous. It appears to be agreed that if such a committee is to be successful, the process that it employs must be applied from the kindergarten through the elementary grades and the high school and on into adult education.

Again, the methods used by such a committee must be adapted to the mental capacity and development of the various age groups to which they are applied. More important still in all such educational experiments, the school and the community must work together and the school must play an increasingly dynamic and vital role in the community.

BUILD DEMOCRACY IN SCHOOL

Certain conclusions may be drawn from the experience of the Springfield committee.

In the elementary school the backlog for democracy must be laid. There the child must get a sense of security, of belonging, of fair play, of cooperation, of taking a part in democratic living. In one of the elementary schools in Springfield, it is reported, there is a motto made and designed and printed by the pupils themselves: "This is our school. It does not belong to the principal, to the teachers, to the pupils or to the city. It belongs to all of us together."

Illustrating the growth of a sense of personal respon-

sibility on the part of the children, the story is told that one morning in one of these schools where there is a student council representing all the children from the youngest to the oldest, the principal heard his telephone ring as he was about to leave his house, and a small voice said, "I can't come to school. My mother says my throat is too sore. But I have the milk bottles to attend to. Will you ask Fred to do it?"

The principal said, "Couldn't I do it?"

Said the small voice politely but firmly, "No, I think Fred would be better!"

In the junior high schools the committee has studied the various contributions made by the national and racial groups to the life of the country and particularly to Springfield. That study has many facets. In one school they may collect heirlooms, all kinds of very prized heirlooms. The idea is to show what a rich pattern of native life we have coming from these various contributions. In another school there is a newspaper edited by the English classes and printed in the print shop. Social studies have been made, biographical studies of contributions to Springfield's life by citizens of various origins.

There has been some skepticism and doubt about this part of the program, the committee reports. Was it not emphasizing diversity? it was asked. "Yes," was the reply; "but we think there is a deeper unity attained through variety, and we take the risk, emphasizing the unity that we have at the end."

TOLERANCE CAN BE TAUGHT

The Springfield committee has established a unit on "Public Opinion for Democracy" which is studying such

problems as, Is Democracy in danger from the threats to it from within and without? How public opinion is made and influenced by propaganda and prejudice. The research department of the schools made a test before and after this unit of work had been taken in the senior high schools, testing such things as open-mindedness, critical evaluation, ability to judge consistency; there was much evidence that a great gain had been made in each of these respects. An interesting thing was that students of poorer ability made a comparable gain to the students of greater ability after taking the unit. Evidently a gain in critical thinking is not an attribute of the elect only.

The committee reports an illuminating experience of one of its teachers. He was met in the hall the next semester by a teacher of English who asked him, "What have you been doing in sociology?"

Somewhat alarmed he said, "I don't know. What do you mean?"

"Why," she replied, "I gave a theme to my students on prejudice, and one of them said to me, 'I can't write on that. I must have an alternate subject,' and when I asked why, she said, 'I don't have any prejudices; I studied it last year with Mr. R., and I found out that it was silly, so I gave it up!' "

Experience drawn from this experiment leads one to deprecate the disposition of some to worry about youth as callous and indifferent. Those who come in close contact with a cross section of youth will agree that while it is the fashion not to be extravagant in enthusiasm, there is a very real respect for our institutions, and very often a deserved criticism of the elders. One student is quoted as saying with a cold stare, "Well, we can't do much about these older people; they probably will always be indif-

ferent and careless voters—but, after all, they can't live forever!"

In the field of adult education, the adult education bureau of the Springfield schools is also at work in what might be called the field of human relations. For example, an employer calls for a student, a stenographer. He says, "I want an American." It was discovered by slow infiltration that the employer has to give up some of his prejudices when he employs someone who is not, as he thought originally, an "American."

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

While it must be admitted that schools are not fully democratic, it is safe to say that in general they are more democratic than the communities in which they are set. And therein lies the danger of a psychological conflict between school and community that might do great harm. Schools teach accepted democratic ideals and expound democratic documents. Schools virtually say to students, "Do well, be upright citizens, and you shall have your reward." But too often it must be said to a brilliant student, "You must go to college under a quota," or it must be said to a talented Negro girl of great promise and ability, "If you go to Washington for the Institute of Forum Graduates, you cannot be admitted to a Washington hotel." Sometimes a three-year honor student who has done good work must be warned, "You will be handicapped when you come to take a position." From such a dilemma there is no escape other than a determination on the part of the school and the community to unite to make democracy, step by step, more of a reality. We must do that or see democracy die, because death lies

in pretense and in empty forms of words, and life requires growth and change and self-fulfillment.

RELIGION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Allied to the problem of education in human relations is that of education in religion in secondary schools. On this mooted question the United States have not sufficient experience to expect unanimity of judgment. Among those who give thought to the problem, however, it appears to be agreed that some acceptable method of teaching religion in the schools should be sought,[8] and may be discovered. There should be given in the public schools frank, complete, unbiased teaching of the role of religion in American life and of the important part played by religious influences in shaping our culture and our liberties. To this there should be added instruction as to the chief tenets of the major religious faiths. There should be cultivated in all children a respect for religious views and a reverence for the rights of others to worship as they please. Public school teachers should not relax their present efforts to teach, by precept and especially by example, those ethical values of honesty, truthfulness, responsibility and self-discipline which are the common aims of character education in every religious faith.

The extent to which public schools can gear with the educational machinery of churches in the latter's weekday instruction is a concern which local conferences of school and church leaders should discuss. Let local option prevail. The more the experimentation locally in the integration of the individual citizen's intelligence, emotions and religious convictions, the better for America.

[8]Round Table of Teachers, Administrators, Pupils.

Related also to training in the art of living together and the building of a society from which religious and racial bigotry shall be banished, is the question of the responsibility of the public schools to provide citizens loyal to American institutions.

THE INCULCATION OF DEMOCRACY

The loyalty of the clicking heel and the outstretched arm, the stiff neck and the supple knee, the blind and brutish obedience to orders from above, is a loyalty that is simply not good enough for America. Our armies and our industries may require mechanized units, but we cannot defend democracy by mechanized men or mechanized minds. Only when we combine understanding and practice and the loyalty that results from them shall we succeed in developing a generation of men and women who can make democracy work in the onrush of the tide of tyranny and raise this country, and with it all mankind, to unparalleled heights of human achievement.

In order to achieve a democratic discipline our people must be helped to understand the nature and imperatives of democracy; to realize how precarious are the foundations of free institutions in an age of industrial civilization; to create concern for the general welfare, to measure individual success in terms of service to society, to regard graft and corruption, whether in government, in business, or in labor organizations, as the worst type of subversive influence; to develop the critical mind in weighing propaganda; and to rise above overt, divisive forms of conflict over race, class or creed.

Passing now to the third level of the educational structure, that of the college and university, much might be

recorded of their achievements, and possibilities in training in human relations.

In general it may be said that the rapidly widening practice of student self-government distinctly contributes to that end.[9] Fair play with the student body is the primary essential of decent self-government among young people of the age of twenty-one, which is the age attained by the majority of students before they are graduated from college.

To this increasing practice of self-government on the part of college students there may be added as evidence of a conscious attempt on the part of the colleges to build for better human relations, the growing tendency of college faculties to live in close contact with the students and to share their interests. Such a course is an essential part of that fair play to the student body which the faculty owes to it.

RADICALISM IN THE COLLEGES

Faculties must concern themselves with what is going on in the minds of their students today. The degree of truth in current charges of radicalism and unsocial conduct directed against college student bodies is due, at least in part, to the assumption that once prevailed of the complete freedom of the professor from any political responsibility and his absolute academic tenure. What happened as a result of that interpretation of academic tenure was that the youth in the universities were exploited by organized political groups. Youth loves action. Youth is somewhat inexperienced in dealing with the syllogism. It has not been skilled to examine premises with sufficient care and so it is not difficult for such groups

[9]Henry Noble MacCracken.

to obtain at least a portion of a college population when they offer a program of action. Youth, and particularly university youth, has always been exploited as the spearhead of political thrusts. It was so in Italy. It has been so in modern Germany and, to some extent, it is so today in this country.

The corollary of all this is that American faculties must concern themselves with public affairs. They cannot escape. They must study the techniques of propaganda. They must learn. Faculties must go to school to learn that students today want to share in adventure, risk; students love to grapple with interesting ideas and participate in the dynamic areas. The old days are past when fraternities, athletics and social events consumed all the energies.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE UNIVERSITIES

It is essential that the American faculty of today should concern itself with contemporary events and endeavor somehow to interpret America to its students through social studies, history and political science; most of all in the indirect ways of their own faculty behavior, and their own attitudes toward student life and student competency. Self-government in the American university has often been a hollow shell. It has been a convenient means by which the faculty had agents in the student body who kept them in touch with those elements that might cause embarrassment to the faculty, and when the students brought anything that was vital to them to the faculty, then self-government no longer was practiced. Fair play with the student body implies sacrifice by members of the American faculty in their own private lives and especially their faculty and professional club life, and willingness to

live with students and work out a common life on terms that imply definite self-government.

In the trends toward changes in the curriculum, colleges are attempting to bring about a better understanding of this world, the world in which we live, and that means a better understanding of human relationships. That means, too, awareness of the connection between science and human needs.

Thus far we have been discussing education from the point of view of the adult, dealing with the responsibilities and duties of the teacher and the educational institution to the student. This can be supplemented by the view that youth takes of youth's wants and needs.

THE TESTIMONY OF YOUTH

Many American youth would like to have more education than they now receive.[10] There are large numbers of Negro youth, for example, who fail by quite a margin to go as far as the eighth grade, or drop out soon thereafter. These groups and other youth from towns and cities would certainly want more of the education that is now available. Still others who are college material but lack sufficient financial support, would like a chance at college and postgraduate training. Only 15 per cent of our youth go to college. For the 85 per cent too little is being done that is educationally adequate for the demand which the rapidly changing modern world makes on them. Even more than higher education, however, American youth want a better quality of education than they are now receiving.

Youth are basically optimistic because time is on their

[10]Howard Y. McClusky.

side and they are at the peak of their mental and physical powers. Youth also crave significance. Above all else they expect from education a life orientation, plus an emotional motivation—a cause, ideal, viewpoint, whatever you wish to call it, to which they can be intelligently loyal and in the service of which they will gain a sense of meaning. Here lies a tie between religion and education. Education is now far behind, youth believes, in meeting up with this expectation. This lag stems from two causes: one is the traditional attitude which society has had toward education and the other is the ivory tower seclusion of educational leadership.

ADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL GOALS

American people have traditionally felt that education is "somehow good" but, more important, have looked on education as a ladder to social and economic opportunity. The "somehow good" in education has been poorly defined, and not too influential, but the social and economic goals of education have been specific and dominating. The upshot is that education in trying to be intellectually sound has been morally sterile. The idea of education as simply equipping youth to get ahead will be an inadequate goal in the world now being born, and such a single purpose will make young people increasingly incompetent to make a place for themselves in the future.

Academicians are also at fault. They have traditionally accented the acquisition of facts, and the training of compartmentalized intellect, both unrelated either to intelligent action or social responsibility. The age that is now being born requires, and youth expects, more than mere

facts, polished intellects or a hopelessly incompetent type of individualistic education tragically out of tune with present and future needs.

HOPEFUL TRENDS IN EDUCATION

Youth is quick, however, to recognize certain trends in education as hopeful.[11] Among them are:

Growing emphasis, in both public and private institutions, on student government and cooperative faculty-student action;

Expansion of extracurricular activities, bringing into the academic world a whole range of real world problems of organization and action which are neglected in the classroom;

The movement for more adequate vocational training, with implicit recognition of excellence in all fields as of equal importance to democratic society and calling for equal training opportunity;

Increase in scholarship and student aid provision tending to make scholastic excellence rather than economic advantage the determining factor in the pursuit of a higher education;

Increase in individualized study programs which acknowledge the need for full development of personal capacities and interests;

Greatly increased interest in the social sciences; study of history as a story of the growth of society, emphasis on economics, sociology and anthropology for analysis, criticism, and construction of society;

Attention of the educators to the founding of moral values and a religious interpretation of life.

[11]Panel of Youth: "What Does Today's Youth Expect from Education?"

EDUCATION OF NEGRO YOUTH

As to the specific problem of Negro education, it may be said that Negro youth is insistent upon the right to attend any school anywhere and find a job to work at when he is finished. This would mean that both government and industry would have to change their methods, say Negro leaders. For as long as the federal government continues to practice a type of discrimination in the army, navy, marine corps and Civil Service, industry seeks an excuse to do likewise. Equalization of educational opportunity in terms of buildings, equipment, appointments must be given to qualified Negro teachers in all schools and colleges, and courses in race relations put into the curricula of every high school and college. In time of crisis like the present, they say, democracy does not hesitate to ask its Negro youth to make the supreme sacrifice. The peacetime effort, therefore, should be to help them live in the democratic processes.

In every American town thoughtful young people with the capacity for leadership[12] should get together to face the problems that confront youth and seek their solution. Schools, civic and church organizations, and the National Youth Administration should cooperate in such community conferences and they should reach not only students but youth not allied with school organizations, that is, youth in the lower income brackets. Labor, business and education may wisely and helpfully work with organizations of youth in facilitating the transition from school to employment. At the same time youth organizations should instruct youth in the basic principles of democracy and youth's place of responsibility in it, train young people in the practice of self-government, con-

[12]Round Table of Youth Organizations.

tinue with evangelical zeal their efforts to eliminate racial and religious bigotry, being always conscious of their own shortcomings in this respect and active in correcting them.

SUMMARY

A neighborhood is sustained by experiences which intellectually and emotionally fix individuals as part of the small community of neighbors. Just so must a sense of *worldhood* be developed. Public schools, religious schools, the family, the church, the library and the theatre are institutions which can provide the ideas and feelings which will identify persons and culture groups with their larger, nation-wide and earth-wide relationships.

Formal education, as in the schools, should discipline youth in its grasp of the best that has been thought and said and done in the past. Schools should balance this with introductions to the world today where ideas are in competition, and cultures are rivals for the loyalties of individuals. Education in human relations must prepare youth to live in a society characterized by cultural diversity. But the different cultures add up to a social whole, and while the community works together to make life good for the individual, each individual must work to make the community good.

The university, the teacher's college and the school can help, and every subject in the curriculum lends itself to this kind of teaching. Certainly each Sunday School in the Judaeo-Christian tradition should make the improvement of relations among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews central.

Students of different cultures want to think and act together in order to participate in the interesting, risky, dynamic goings-on of the present-day world. The youth

of today are serious, hard-working, idealistic. Educators and churchmen must believe in them! Insist on great demands. Ask for sacrifice, but be sure that all of us sacrifice together, none escape their share. Hold up great tasks. And then, do not ask what can be done. Ask, *what ought to be done?* Youth will cry, "Then, let's do it!"

V

Religion

IN THE LONG RUN everything about the postwar world will be determined by religion. Man thinks and acts in accordance with what he worships. Because man's adoration turned to selfish power, society began to disintegrate. Because nations longed for dead ends, decadence set in. Inasmuch as this happened on such a wide scale, and to some extent in every nation, the greatest moral conflict in history is going on today.

In England and in Ireland the conviction is general that the political and economic evidences of the worldwide moral conflict can be traced finally to a religious crisis. When one man[1] said, "The crisis of this century is religious, moral, political, economic, and in that particular order," his analysis ran something like this:

The crisis is religious: when civilization is built upon technologies and machines, ignores the dignity of man, and rejects responsibility to God, then Nazism is the logical result.

The crisis is moral: man came to think he could do

[1]F. A. Voight, editor, *19th Century and After.*

anything he wanted, and "get away with it." But society cannot endure without moral sanctions. It disintegrates.

The crisis is political: when society fails in the first and second, it fails politically. A nation without God and morality must end in tyranny.

The crisis is economic: history has not behaved as Karl Marx told it to do. When Hitler solved his economic problem by enslavement and war, at that moment he created a more profound religious problem. It is the *abuse* of the mechanical and the material which produces the ill.

At this point, because we are all in trouble, a sober, reflective, inquiring mood has come over the world. Kindliness, loyalty, sincerity, integrity, community-mindedness, all the attractive virtues, are in the ascendant. This is particularly so where there has been suffering, as in England. There is widespread concern about the mysteries of life. Among those who have by reason, and by will, experienced supernatural religion, there is renewed devotion today.

What, then, of religion in the postwar world? For one thing, religious societies must furnish everlasting values, eternally true moral sanctities, and enduring ends for the individual. All the contemporary excitement about "democracy" and "rights" will be meaningless unless a life worth living is achieved spiritually by the individual. In addition to a maturity of faith in God, one thoughtful European[2] listed four requisites for an individual's "life worth living" in the postwar world:

Faith in truth and science;
Respect for universal moral principles;
Honesty and reliability of the pledged word;
Belief in human dignity.

[2]Eduard Beneš.

Unless individual citizens achieve through religion such integration of mind and character and soul, no free nation can exist.

A second responsibility of religious societies is to be understood. People are turning their attention upward to religion, and the postwar era will make great demands for the ministrations of religion. But, organized religion must speak a language that can be understood. Its leaders must live lives which exemplify religious principles in fact. Its conduct of worship must be geared with real life. Its prayers, fast-days and feasts must be related to what people face and do daily.

A third opportunity of the religious organizations is to get people *now* to think, to inquire, to read and to discuss the postwar world. All across the United States people of all ages, in all circles, should talk about the themes in Chapters I, II and III of this book. These discussions would lead to the topic of this final chapter, inescapably. His Lordship Tom Dolan, Labor Party Mayor of Glasgow, described what he would do. "If I were running a church I'd get one hundred men, and make each one responsible for a group of twenty people. They would be called together to discuss the kind of a city and the kind of a world, economically and politically, they want to live in.

"Mind you, I should go where they live and circulate. The revolutionaries always start their calls where people naturally gather. Why should the church or synagogue fail in that?

"At the first meeting I would go with the leader. I should serve tea and pie at the very outset—the best pie that I could buy in Glasgow! I should tell each group that we intended, with their help, to produce on the bank of the Clyde River a society which conforms with the

Sermon on the Mount. Then I would encourage that group to go to work. My confidence is that by the end of a quarter-year the majority of each discussion group would be working for the Judaeo-Christian principles, and desirous of uniting with the church."

To close this preliminary outline of the function of religion in the postwar period, point four is that religion must provide leadership for social improvement. No politician can improve housing unless the churches, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, cry out convincingly, "God's creatures must live in decent houses!"[3] No organized world ever will be brought about unless the religious idea of the family of God's creatures is prophetically insisted upon by religious societies. It is the business of religious people to furnish the values, the vision, the principles and the motivations for the Good Life in the world we want to live in. What they think, feel, and do with regard to postwar economic and political arrangements may largely determine whether the world will be more just, more humane, more peaceful. To this end there should be summoned American village, town, and city conferences and round-tables of Anglo-Catholics, Evangelical Protestants, Greek Catholics, Jews, Mormons, Roman Catholics, Quakers and Unitarians. Objective: to apply moral standards to the solution of postwar problems.

RELIGION MUST BE FREE

If religion is to shape the world of the future, it must be free. Religious freedom, liberty of conscience, is first among the freedoms. In this country we need to define it plainly and to maintain it steadfastly if we are to make any contribution to the remaking of the world. Moreover,

[3]Arthur Greenwood, Minister of Reconstruction, England.

this freedom must be extended to all.[4] Our Constitution guarantees it to all. Yet in almost every community there are some who either have a suspicion of others because their religion is different, or an active dislike and mistrust.

So while religious freedom is guaranteed in fact, as a practical matter, religious freedom is construed by many to mean their private right to worship in their own particular way, and they are just a little suspicious about the right of others to worship in their particular way. We must broaden the concept of religious freedom and make sure that in this country we do not fall prey to that most subtle of all Fascist devices, the raising of religious hate between people, for that is the first step in their downfall.

Let us put this important point positively: unless we are able to eradicate hatred, bigotry and intolerance from the American scene all our rights are endangered. If interculture intolerance gains strength,[5] the right to freedom of worship will be limited first against one religion, or against the right to belong to no religious group at all, and gradually each way of thought, of assembly and of press will be prohibited except that accepted by the ruling power. Whatever may be the right that we claim for ourselves, we can protect it only by according it freely to others.

NO RIGHTS WITHOUT DUTIES

Religious freedom, however, is not an absolute. It is not the freedom of anyone to engage in conduct[6] which is a violation of the criminal laws of the country. Roger Williams stated the limitation of religious freedom very

[4]Thomas E. Dewey.

[5]Roger W. Straus.

[6]James N. Rosenberg.

clearly in 1636 when he claimed the right of freedom of worship only so long as it did not endanger others. The settlers of Providence were required to submit themselves "in active and passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way by the major consent of the present inhabitants." But this was required "only in civil things." Obedience to civil law and freedom in the realm of religious belief and practice were thus united as two sides of the same shield.

More important still is it to bear in mind that every right has its corresponding duty. The world we want to live in[7] is to be found only by far greater attention to our inescapable duties than to our unalienable rights. "Liberty, indeed," write the authors of *The City of Man,* "if it is not to offer a 'more or less decomposed corpse' for conquerors or Quislings to tread down, must implement the promises of the Bill of Rights with the commandments of a Bill of Duties."

There was printed in the papers in New York some months ago a message from an old French workingman which gravely emphasizes this necessity.[8] France had just fallen. The message read:

"We have lacked an idea. We came to imagine that the proper duty of man was to arrange an easy way of life, individualistic to the point of selfishness. We saw no further than the village pump. We looked upon the State as a universal purveyor, and we always spoke of our due, seldom of our duties. We persisted in our errors. For one thing, we persisted in leveling the nation down and in imagining that the State would prove an everlasting milch cow.

[7]James N. Rosenberg.
[8]Thomas E. Dewey.

"Tell all this to the Americans and warn them at the same time of the peril that may befall democracy everywhere when it forgets that free men have duties as well as rights."

When we contemplate the death and destruction that is affecting the continent of Europe, we are blind if we do not realize[9] that we cannot have a strong, happy, prosperous society where everyone is forever talking about his rights. How horribly disagreeable and unhappy a family is in which every member persistently talks of his rights and how inefficiently run is the faculty of a school where each member insists on his rights. If Americans think their chief duty is to cry for their rights, then America is doomed. While we are selfishly crying for our rights, all human rights will be swept out of the world.

Only when religion, with its emphasis upon duties rather than upon rights, reasserts its leadership as a living force in the moral values of the nation, can human relations be established upon a sound foundation.[10] Our form of government was devised on principles flowing from deep religious conviction. Every essential of our system, every essential of any free society, springs from the concepts of moral duties, family duties, and civic duties flowing from the belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. From the religious faith of a people spring the essentials of faith in the rights, and concern for the well-being of our fellow men.

RELIGION AND HUMAN RELATIONS

"It was no less an authority than Gibbon," writes President Nicholas Murray Butler, "who said of Tacitus that

[9]Reuben H. Markham.
[10]Thomas E. Dewey.

he was the first of historians who applied the science of philosophy to the study of facts. The time has come when we must apply a religious philosophy to the study of human relations." The world we want to live in must be, first of all, then, a spiritual world,[11] spiritual in its motives, its incentives and objectives. The late Pope said, "Spiritually, we are all Semites." Out of the East came our values, our ideals, our systems of ethics, above all, our reliance upon the spiritual interpretation and motivation of life. We know today better than we knew two years ago, that neither might, nor power, nor strength, can prevail, despite the claim that civilization based on sheer power will last one thousand years. The spiritual motives and aspirations for brotherhood, and justice, for honor, truth and humanity, must be present in the world we want to live in. *The Decline of the West* has already been written, and now threatens to become a reality. No one has written *A Decline of the East.* The Word of God, the prophets of Israel, the Savior of Christianity, came from the East. The world infuses our spiritual reality. That essence of the spirit must be in our world.

The world we want must be ethical in its structure. Conscience, humanity, and feeling must be part of it. We can no longer live in a world where there is power without restraint, science without the consciousness of right and wrong or good and evil, economics without control and individualism without social consciousness. We have been living in a world wherein ethics has been taboo, frowned upon as weakness and eschewed as unworthy of the followers of Marx, Wotan and Siegfried. We have wondered what worth literature may have, when the works of Mann, Zweig and Wasserman are publicly burned. We have wondered what value educa-

[11]Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman.

tion has, when proud five-hundred-year-old Heidelberg declared it is no longer interested in truth or in science. We have seen the most distinguished scientists exiled, the latest of great discoveries, the radio, become a vehicle for lies, propaganda and fear. We have seen the institution of the home crumble as children inform on their own parents, and we have witnessed religion degenerate into, not atheism, but paganism. We shall not survive, unless we live in a world where ethics is practiced.

The world we want to live in must also be pragmatic. It must work, and coordinate teaching and practice. This alone will save youth from disillusionment and despair. We have sought to train them in school, home, church and synagogue, in college and university, for a world they actually cannot find. Ethics must not be only an academic study; idealism, so precious to the young, must be applied. The world for which they will work, and sacrifice, and fight, must give them a job, encourage them to sing heroic songs, plan with great vision, and work out in practical ways their noblest and best ambitions.

HIGH IDEALS ESSENTIAL

For the world we want to live in must, by all odds, be an idealistic world. Our reach must ever exceed our grasp. And these ideals must ever be positive and constructive and humanitarian. The ideals we possess today are pitifully insufficient. We are too easily satisfied. We must give to construction in peace as much as we all are ready to give to war. For war we serve, sacrifice, save. In peace we have had indifference, selfishness and waste. We can tax huge sums for war construction, we evacuate children from danger, and neighbors rich and poor, the smart set and the simple, meet and work together for civilian de-

fense and relief. We are capable of idealism! Let us make peace as dynamic, as fascinating, as thrilling as war. Problems of power projects, roadways, population movements, disease, illiteracy, the creation of world museums, music festivals, library and art exhibits, call for sacrifice, exploration and adventure in peacetime.

FOUR INSISTENT QUESTIONS

Before we can build this new world in which we want to live, we must be able to give an affirmative answer to each of four questions: Does my faith in God live? Do I believe in my fellow man? Have I faith in those ideals which the ages have acclaimed as highest? Do I believe in my ability, under God, to help build a world in accord with those ideals? It may easily appear[12] that in control of the world today are the disintegrating forces, the forces that are pulling men apart. Religious faith, however, resists the claims of such divisive forces with the affirmation of divine laws which are immutable and which men ignore only at their peril. The ultimate test of any civilization depends upon how the strong treat the weak; the major groups, the minor groups; the great nations, the lesser nations; the powerful, the humble. Make the world safe for differences!

Millions of people have lost faith[13] and feel that the experiences of the last few years are enough to make a scoffer's delight, an atheist's paradise, a skeptic's holiday. But they forget that there are natural laws in the spiritual world. As we cannot break the law of gravity with impunity, so we cannot break the moral law without the moral law breaking us. We cannot sow greed, suspicion,

[12]Rev. L. Valentine Lee.
[13]Rabbi Louis L. Mann.

injustice, exploitation and war, and expect to reap generosity, confidence, love, tranquillity and peace. What has happened to religion, men ask, the spiritual interpretation of the world? Is it being eliminated, or has it been annihilated? On the contrary. We have witnessed neither the elimination nor the annihilation but the vindication and the verification of spiritual claims, for never was the truth that "As ye sow, so also shall ye reap" more fully confirmed than by Marxian materialism, Hegelian nationalism, and Frederick the Great's militarism.

DEIFICATION OF THE STATE

Fascism denied God in deed by advocating the supremacy of the State, the rule of might, the method of ruthlessness, the suppression of freedom, the indoctrination of hate, the exploitation of the rights of labor and the deliberate substitution of propaganda for truth. Communism denied God in creed, by insisting upon the economic determination of history, the worship of the machine, faith in the class struggle, the avowal of crass materialism and belief in violence as the way out. Hitler has insisted that "the state can do no wrong." Stalin has said, "Man was made for the State." Mussolini boasts that "beyond the State there is nothing." The message of religion as it has reverberated down the ages is that beyond the state lies humanity and beyond humanity lies Divinity.

As Father Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., editor of *Thought,* has said,[14] "Our idea of American democracy is found in the proposition that 'all men are *created* equal.' We think, that is, that the soundest answer to totalitarianism is faith in an Omnipotent Creator who endowed human nature with rights that no human power can take away

[14]*Faith for Today,* Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., p. 124.

and with duties that no human authority can destroy. Our only Absolute is God. No state, whether dictatorial or democratic, can give us inalienable rights nor take away inescapable duties.

"When we say 'all men are *created* equal' we mean that each of us is a person, a unique, intangible, incommunicable, immortal spiritual substance, whose giver and ground and goal is God, and in regard to which, by the very nature of things, politics has nothing whatever to do. The purpose of our existence is the perfection of that person. Whatever, therefore, contributes to that perfection is right, and whatever impedes that perfection is wrong. We do not become persons by declaring ourselves to be persons; we discover ourselves to be persons whose author and end is God.

"That is why," Father Walsh adds, "we are irrepressibly optimistic about representative democracy; we are convinced that free and rational discussion and debate will devise the nearest approximation to the best positive laws for the practical ordering of a society of human persons."

THE DIGNITY OF MAN

The idea of the value and dignity of the individual man is basic to all true democracy,[15] and this is a religious conception, the product of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. In proportion as we loosen our grasp upon it, democracy decays. It required centuries for the implications of this radical concept to make themselves clear even among the Christians for whom the love of one's neighbor was a cardinal doctrine. Gradually, however, it became evident that if all men were children of God, all must be given the opportunity to develop into moral beings of God-like

[15]Arthur H. Compton.

character. This could not be done without giving to each individual the fundamental responsibility for ruling himself. Here is Christianity's clear demand for freedom of the individual. It could be closely paralleled by similar thinking on the part of the Jews, from whom the ideas were, indeed, originally derived. It was, however, the Christians who were in power in the part of the world where these thoughts were developing, and who were thus primarily responsible for their political expression. On this view the ruler of a people became, in Jesus' phrase, the servant of all; and his greatness was to be measured not by the nations he conquered but by the magnitude of the service he performed for the people he ruled in enabling them likewise to develop their best human qualities.

RELIGION BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

It is only thus that we can account for the growth of popular demand to share in the government, specifically in those areas and times in which Jesus' teachings were being most widely appreciated. Man has inalienable rights. There are many ways of arriving at this principle; but certainly one of the most effective ways was the appeal to the religious concept of man as a child of God. When this religious concept began to lose its vitality, democracy also began its decline.

Democracy was the outgrowth of the Christian concept of the value of ordinary men and women as the children of God. If we deny the validity of such a standard of value, why should we concern ourselves about the welfare of the Chinese coolie or of our American compatriots? The answer is that we should not consider their welfare except as they can in some way be useful to us.

Here is the essential contrast between the theistic basis of values as taught by Judaism and Christianity and the individualistic or selfish basis of values as taught by such philosophers as Nietzsche and as incorporated in the nationalistic doctrines of the Nazis. To the theist all men are brothers, and should be the objects of brotherly love; to the atheist the only rational standard of values is the selfish one, and general humanitarian objectives become meaningless. If, then, government is really to be for the people, those who govern must be actuated by the ideals of the theist.

We must agree with Benjamin Franklin that we deserve to govern ourselves only so long as we govern for the common good. If government by the people ceases to be government for the people it cannot long endure.

THE CULT OF THE CRUEL

H. G. Wells in 1920 declared that the decline in religious idealism during the past century was due to "a crude misunderstanding of Darwinism which had become the fundamental mindstuff of the 'educated' everywhere."

"Prevalent peoples at the close of the nineteenth century," wrote Mr. Wells, "believed that they prevailed by virtue of the struggle for existence, in which the strong and the cunning get the better of the weak and confiding. And they believed further that they had to be strong, energetic, ruthless, 'practical,' egotistical, because God was dead, and had always, it seemed, been dead—which was going altogether further than the new knowledge justified. . . . Just as in a pack (of dogs) it is necessary to bully and subdue the younger and weaker for the general good, as it seemed right to them that the big dogs of the human pack should bully and subdue. Hence a new scorn

for the ideas of democracy that has ruled the earlier nineteenth century, and a revived admiration for the overbearing and the cruel."

THE TEST OF DEMOCRACY

Had men not believed that human rights were important, it is doubtful whether all the economic and industrial changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would have brought about a democracy. If at the present time the fascist state is demonstrably the stronger and more efficient form, the fact that most of the citizens are deprived of the opportunity to share in directing the national destiny will not lead to a preference for democracy by rulers unconcerned with the growth of individuals to full human stature.

From the ideological point of view it is thus evident that the world drive toward democracy passed its peak before the First World War. If the Nazi doctrine of the natural supremacy of a particular human group prevails, democracy will disappear. Nevertheless, as long as there are those who believe in human brotherhood, there will remain the demand that people shall share in shaping a government for the benefit of those that are governed. Essential to the vitality of democracy, therefore, is a vigorous faith in the fundamental value of the common man as taught by religion.

This is a conviction which will steel men's hearts to meet and conquer the spiritual menace of the paganism that threatens to engulf the world. This is a principle, derived from religion, upon which Protestant, Catholic and Jew can agree. The dignity of human personality is a gauge to be used in building the world we want to live in.

SUMMARY

Fundamentally, the social, economic and political aspects of the world men make are determined by the kind of religion which possesses those men. The function of religion in a democracy is to furnish the values, the morals, and the motivations. To do this, American religious people insist that the soul and mind of man must be free. There are limits to freedom, and duties which go with rights.

From a religious point of view, the postwar world must be spiritual in motive, incentive and objective; it must be ethical; it must be practical; it must have ideals. The test of the forms of a society is what they do to man, for the dignity of personality as a creation of God. This is the religious yardstick to be used in building the postwar world.

DISCUSSION OUTLINE

I

Social Change

What evidence is there to indicate whether cooperative relations among the various culture groups in America are on the increase or decline?

What are the principal obstacles to the cooperation of such groups?

Why would you say hatred is a normal or an abnormal emotion?

What effect, physical or mental, has hatred upon him who hates?

List the dangers and the advantages to a culture because of association with other cultures that are different.

How can a nation, which is characterized by cultural diversity, be strong and united?

Do cultural differences necessarily cause hostile conflict, or the increase of crime?

Are there anywhere "pure" races or "superior" races?

Under what conditions can the varied groups that make up our citizenship live together harmoniously and cooperatively?

II

Economics

List the agreements on social and economic principles on the part of capital and labor.

It is said, "Industrial breakdown, when we change from a wartime to a peacetime economy, is not inevitable." To what extent is this true or false?

What do freedom and democracy mean in their industrial implications?

Do you think that such a "national economic council" as Mr. Coonley describes would be helpful?

Is economic democracy essential to the preservation of political democracy?

How can economic democracy be established?

What part can religion play in industrial progress?

III

Politics

Is the doctrine of nationalism necessarily a threat to the world's peace? Why?

How can we protect the world from a perverted nationalism which seeks only national advantage?

On what basic principles should a world government be founded if it is to succeed?

What part must America play in the reconstructed world?

What characteristics does America possess that fit it to be internationally helpful?

How can the United States and the South American republics really cooperate in making a better world?

In the world we want to live in, what are to be the safeguards against political corruption, abuse of power, misuse of office, and other signs of political decay?

IV

Education

What is the function of the school in the remaking of the social order?

What are the principal social defects in present educational methods?

What needs to be done to train teachers in the field of human relations?

How potent are experiences in childhood in determining the attitudes of people to one another?

Can democracy be taught? How? Can tolerance be taught? How?

What can be done to coordinate what is taught by the common experiences of daily life, with what is taught in the schools?

Should religion be taught in the public schools? How successful is the teaching of religion in "released time" as you have observed it?

Would you say that young people are satisfied with the kind of education the schools are giving?

V

RELIGION

In what sense is the current economic and political world crisis religious in character?

What part can religious forces play in the remaking of the world?

What does religious freedom involve and what are its limitations?

Under what circumstances can insistence upon rights be overstressed?

If it is true that the postwar world will be a better world only if religion makes it so, what steps can organized religion take to aid in the task?

In what sense is democracy based upon religion?

Ultimately, social improvement depends upon the kind of persons who make up the world. What has religion to do with the nature of a person?

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